FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

Daily Report

Central Eurasia

FBIS-SOV-93-171
Tuesday
7 September 1993

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FBIS-SOV-93-171

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CIS Summit Postponed Until 24 Sep

LD0309170893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1611 GMT 3 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Akimov]

[Text] Almaty 3 Sep—The CIS summit scheduled for 7 September in Moscow has been postponed till the end of the month. The Kazakh president's press service reported that a telephone conversation took place this afternoon between Nursultan Nazarbayev and Russian President Boris Yeltsin, who is presently attending talks with Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk in the Crimea. In view of the situation which has arisen, it was decided to postpone the meeting to a provisional date of 24 September. The Kazakh president's press service reports that this move is at Leonid Kravchuk's request. The fact of the matter is that the Ukrainian parliament is supposed to examine the issue of setting up an economic union of CIS member- countries on 16 September.

Leonid Kravchuk himself confirmed this later in a telephone conversation with Nursultan Nazarbayev, the Kazakh head of state's press center reported. It also said that at today's meeting in the Crimea, Nursultan Nazarbayev's initiative on setting up a space company on the basis of the Baykonur cosmodrome was supported.

Meanwhile, Nursultan Nazarbayev's visit to Moscow scheduled for Monday 6 September will go ahead. At a meeting with Boris Yeltsin, the two heads of state are expected to discuss issues of an economic and financial nature, the report from the Kazakh president's press center says.

Heads of Government Council Session Previewed

PM0609095193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 4 Sep 93 p 1

[Pavel Vasilyev report: "Premiers' Meeting"]

[Text] The prime ministers of CIS member countries will meet after lunch on 6 September in Moscow's President Hotel for the latest session of the Council of Commonwealth Heads of Government. It was orginally planned to hold this conference in August, but by common consent it was subsequently timed to coincide with the Council of Heads of State that opens Tuesday.

At their sessions the government leaders intend to discuss problems that have faced the independent states for some time. Together with final coordination and preparations to sign the agreement on economic union, work on which has virtually been completed by the experts, it is also planned to examine a draft agreement on an interstate council for emergencies and the prospects for cooperation in this sphere, outline a program for providing CIS countries with agricultural grain and feed harvesting equipment, and allocate expenditure for the construction of a car plant in the city of Yelabuga (Russia), the output from which is to be earmarked for the republics in proportion to the share contribution that each of them makes. It is also intended to examine the issue of state and social assistance to family members of servicemen who died in Afghanistan and other states where hostilities have taken place.

Economic Agreement Signed

LD0709094493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0909 GMT 7 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow September 7 TASS—"As a matter of fact, we have today laid the foundation for an economic union," Russian Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin told ITAR-TASS here today after the signing of an agreement "on practical measures to set up a new-type rouble zone" by plenipotentiary representatives of the governments and national banks of Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Russia, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan.

The Russian premier stressed that the drafting of this agreement "has again borne out the creative role of our president. It was precisely his idea that was eventually backed by Nursultan Nazarbayev and the presidents of several other nations."

"I am profoundly satisfied with the fact that we were able to reach an agreement on a rouble zone. Starting from today, we are, in fact, turning a new page in our joint development. This is a big step towards an economic union," Chernomyrdin stressed.

He also noted that the agreement provided an impulse for stepping up cooperation among the six states in various spheres of economy, including banking, crediting, export and import quotas for goods and services, and customs affairs. The premier called for the removal of customs and other artificial restrictions obstructing the development of economic relations among the signatories of the agreement.

'New Style Ruble Zone' Viewed

LD0709094193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0834 GMT 7 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow, 7 Sep—Plenipotentiary representatives of the governments and national banks of Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Russia, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan signed an agreement entitled: "On practical measures to establish a new style ruble zone," in the Russian Government building at noon today.

It is an outline agreement, on the basis of which bilateral agreements on the functioning of a single monetary system for four [as received] states will be prepared and signed. The essence of the outlined agreement is that use of the cash ruble by these states is dependent on their meeting a number of requirements in respect of coordination of the budgetary, credit, interest rate, and customs policies of the six states.

A statement by the six states' government heads in connection with the signing of the document says that "accords reached will make it possible to create conditions for the preservation of traditional economic and other ties between the states' enterprises and populations. A real step has been taken on the path toward deepening economic integration between the six states."

After the signing ceremony, Viktor Chernomyrdin, Chairman of the Russian Council of Ministers told an ITAR-TASS correspondent that this document is the first serious step toward the creation of an economic union of CIS countries.

Leaders Issue Statement

LD0709100193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0934 GMT 7 Sep 93

[By unidentified ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow September 7 TASS—Follows the text of a statement released here today by the heads of government of the Republic of Armenia, the Republic of Belarus, the Republic of Kazakhstan, the Russian Federation, the Republic of Tajikistan and the Republic of Uzbekistan:

"Aware of the objective need to safeguard their common economic space, of the high degree of mutual economic dependence, and expressing the desire to have a common monetary system with the use of the Russian rouble as the lawful legal tender, the governments of the Republic of Armenia, the Republic of Belarus, the Republic of Kazakhstan, the Russian Federation, the Republic of Tajikistan, and the Republic of Uzbekistan have signed in Moscow on September 7, 1993, an agreement on practical measures to set up a new-type rouble zone.

The reached agreements will contribute to the creation of conditions to promote traditional economic and other relations among the enterprises and populations of these states. Bilateral agreements shall be concluded on their basis shortly, laying down the rules of the new rouble zone and establishing mechanisms for the approximation and unification of legislations pertaining to the sphere of monetary-crediting relations.

A concrete step has been made towards deepening the economic integration of the six states. The heads of government of the Republic of Armenia, the Republic of Belarus, the Republic of Kazakhstan, the Russian Federation, the Republic of Tajikistan and the Republic of Uzbekistan regard this agreement as an important element of an economic union, the treaty on which was approved by the heads of state of these countries, who are firmly set on signing it shortly."

Russia-Kazakhstan-Uzbekistan Ruble Zone Viewed

PM0609124593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Aug 93 First Edition p 4

[Ivan Zhagel report: "Another Step Toward Unifying Monetary Systems"]

[Text] The Central Bank of Russia has prepared a draft agreement between the governments and national banks of Russia, Kazakhstan, and Uzbekistan on the establishment of a ruble zone.

According to Vyacheslav Solovov, deputy chairman of the Central Bank of Russia, the current draft should not be regarded as an alternative to the one that has already been drawn up in this sphere. The prepared agreement develops those documents on the establishment of a single ruble area which were formulated recently and initialed within the framework of the Russian State Committee for Economic Cooperation with Commonwealth Member States.

Let me remind readers that the previous documents basically stipulated general terms for unifying monetary systems, including adjustments to customs, banking, taxation, and foreign currency legislation. And as each of Russia's partners resolves these issues, bilateral agreements should have been concluded. This makes sense, otherwise the tardiness of one CIS country would slow down the general unification process.

Thus, V. Solovov noted, Uzbekistan wanted to conclude a bilateral agreement with Russia practically the day after the initialing of the general document within the framework of the State Committee for Economic Cooperation with Commonwealth Member States. This country referred to the fact that in the economic sphere it already has most of the laws prepared by the former Union and Russia.

But in territorial terms Russia and Uzbekistan are separated by Kazakhstan. The leadership of the Bank of Russia has submitted an initiative to the leadership of the Bank of Kazakhstan that enables reciprocal agreements to be reached more quickly and, having obtained support, it has prepared a trilateral document on establishing a single ruble area between Russia, Kazakhstan, and Uzbekistan.

This draft stipulates that Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan will coordinate the extent of credit emissions and establish joint gold and foreign currency reserves to guarantee the common ruble. At the same time the system of correspondent accounts between the three countries' central banks will be preserved for the time being. That is to say that the transfer of money from one republic to another will not be entirely free.

It seems that Russia insisted on keeping correspondent accounts because, until full unification of monetary systems is achieved, it wants to ensure that all funds kept

in accounts in other republics' banks have been legitimately received, and not, for example, by using false advice notes.

'Mir' TV, Radio Company To Begin Broadcasting 5 Sep

LD0409111293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0515 GMT 4 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Chernov]

[Text] Moscow, 4 Sep—The interstate TV and radio company "Mir" is making its debut tomorrow [5 September] on Radio 1. From then on, there will be 30-minute long programs five times a week, in which "Mir" journalists, together with their colleagues from the national branches in the founder countries, will acquaint radio listeners with the sociopolitical, economic, and cultural life in the states that have founded the interstate company.

"Mir" has its headquarters in Moscow, with branches in the capitals of the founder states—Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan. All of these have contributed an equal share to the authorized capital, and have equal rights in managing the interstate company and determining its broadcasting policy. The concept underlying the company's activities regards as inadmissible biased approaches to material, propaganda slant in broadcasting, and negligent attitude to events and processes taking place in the life of sovereign states.

Inaugural Program Begins

LD0509102993

[Editorial Report] Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian at 0800 GMT on 5 September broadcasts a 30-minute program which describes the inaugural program launch of the Mir Interstate TV and Radio Company.

The inaugural radio program from the Mir interstate TV and radio company begins with a short piece of music and a call for CIS peoples to live in peace and harmony. The head of the company, Gadilbek Shalakhmetov, is present in the studio to answer listeners' questions.

Brief remarks are broadcast from the heads of some of the CIS states that founded the company, each preceded by a chime jingle and a solemn voice announcing: The Presidential Microphone.

Kyrgyzstan President Askar Akayev says that Mir is a belated but welcome development in the CIS media.

Tajikistan leader Imamali Rakhmanov wishes listeners peace and happiness, and hopes that the events that have taken place in his country will not be repeated elsewhere.

Belarus Supreme Soviet Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich says he hopes that Mir's professionalism will result in comprehensive and illuminating journalism.

Shalakhmetov then states the aims of the Mir station are to provide fair and objective coverage of events, lifestyles, and cultures in the CIS, and to promote friendship among its peoples.

Then correspondent Mikhail Balayan, from Yerevan, interviews a sociologist on the CIS' chances of survival.

A woman listener phones from Baku, hoping that Mir will help end the war with Armenia. Shalakhmetov responds that Mir will be aiming to promote peace in that region.

Shalakhmetov says that Mir's output will not be solely political and social, and will include cultural and literary programs. He also expanded on Mir's plans for the future. Current broadcasting lasts for three hours a week on TV and radio and will increase, he says. The end objective is for Mir to have its own independent channel, that will come on-air in the Commonwealth in a year's time, Shalakhmetov says.

The announcer then ends the program with a homily on living in peace and friendship, and gave the address and phone lines for viewers and listeners to contact Mir.

CP Meeting Calls For 'United Union of Soviet Peoples'

PM0609125593 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Sep 93 p 1

["Own Information" report: "Communist Parties Agree To Act Together"]

[Text] A meeting of communist party representatives took place in Orel 5 August, followed by another meeting in Minsk 27 August. Those gathered—representatives of the Communist Parties of Belarus, Crimea, the Russian Federation, and Ukraine—were quick on the uptake: The political and economic processes in our states have a similar thrust. The economic situation is deteriorating—production is falling, inflation and unemployment are rising, the standard of living of most of the population is on the decline, and the political struggle is worsening and even becoming criminalized.

Then there are wars in outlying regions—civil and interethnic conflicts on the territory of the dismembered USSR. Hundreds of thousands of refugees... Millions of people in so-called neighboring countries have found themselves facing the threat of nationalist genocide. The bitter results of the two years that have elapsed since the shameful Belovezhskaya Forest agreement have made the irrevocable demand of the time obvious—that a united union of Soviet peoples be restored.

The meeting participants noted in their statement that the communist parties need to maintain permanent contacts in order to correlate their positions, formulate

unified views, and coordinate joint actions. They confirmed the desire voiced at the Orel meeting for unity and the formation of a union of communist parties as the indispensable condition for restoring union statehood. The sides agreed to ask their parties' leadership organs to send representatives of the Communist Parties of Belarus, the Crimea, the Russian Federation, and Ukraine to the Union of Communist Parties—CPSU, regarding it as a consultative body, helping to better coordinate the actions of the fraternal parties set up on the CPSU membership base.

The Communist Parties of Belarus, the Crimea, Russia, and Ukraine are prepared to support any real shoots of renewed unifying processes in order to restore economic, political, and cultural ties at interstate level and are resolutely opposed to any attempts to deepen the artificial separation of our peoples by closing borders, establishing customs points and own currencies, reorienting traditional economic ties, and dividing up armies and navies.

The parties welcome the coming congress of peoples of the USSR 20 September and the All-Union Assembly in Moscow 3 October and will play a very active part in them.

The sides backed the desire by party organizations in border oblasts of Belarus, Russia, and Ukraine for close cooperation designed to restore economic ties, cultural exchange, and ordinary human contacts between the population, and agreed to organize a meeting of representatives of these party organizations in September or October. They expressed their sympathy for the inhabitants of Belarus' Polesye, who have been the victims of flooding, and decided to provide material assistance using party funds.

The meeting participants urged the parliaments of Belarus, Russia, and Ukraine to rectify the political mistake made in backing the Belovezhskaya Forest agreements and take an understanding view of the steps being taken by Belarusian and Russian Federation Supreme Soviet deputies.

The sides appeal to all responsible political forces, parties, and movements, to all citizens of Belarus, Russia, and Ukraine to support these steps with a powerful national movement.

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 4 Sep

LD0409063093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0451 GMT 4 Sep 93

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow September 4 TASS—Today's newspapers comment on the results of the meeting of Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk held in the Crimea on Friday.

The youth daily KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA says that the talks were largely affected by the social and political situation in Russia and Ukraine. "On the eve of September battles with the parliament Yeltsin needs to present himself as an adamant defender of Russia's interests. Kravchuk, being under the guillotine of a referendum, needs guarantees of oil and gas supplies to Ukraine on the eve of the coming winter. The presidents acted in accordance with these motivations," the newspaper said.

Newspapers also continue to comment on Yeltsin's decree suspending Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy from office. PRAVDA reports about the parliament's decision to suspend the decree. "Under the guise of an attack on the vice-president (not just Aleksandr Rutskoy personally, but vice-presidency as such) legislative bodies are being subject to anti-constitutional changes."

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA claims that "foreign intelligence services are involved in the removal of Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy." It quotes Deputy Ion Andronov as saying that the whole thing had been plotted by the American and Israeli intelligence services which are seeking to "increase destabilisation and chaos in Russia."

Newspapers focus on the results of Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin's visit to the United States, pointing out that the talks were fruitful. "Judging by the results of the work of the head of government of the Russian Federation in America, cooperation begins to normalise as obstacles, disagreements and misunderstanding are being removed," the military daily KRASNAYA ZVEZDA says.

"With time it may become even equal. But now bilateral cooperation looks sometimes like unilateral concessions to or privileges for the strongest," the newspaper notes.

PRAVDA describes the agreements reached in Washington, including the one that grants Russia access to the world market for commercial satellite launches, as an "award for good behaviour."

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA sums up the results of Russian Defence Minister's trip to Georgia, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan. The newspaper writes that Grachev held very important and, more importantly, fruitful meetings with the leaders of Georgia and Turkmenistan and the defence ministers of Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan. It describes these meetings and agreements reached as a prologue to a new military partnership.

The same newspaper publishes an article titled "Moscow Wins Chance To Strengthen Commonwealth" by Observer Aleksandr Golts in which he analyses the social and political situation in CIS republics.

"Experience has shown that economic laws are immune to hurrah- patriotic emotions. A gloomy time has come for politicians when even the most ardent fighters for independence begin to realise the need for integration,

not without the help of their own stomachs. And for that reason, the need to abandon the forms of fighting for absolute independence which devastate the economy," Golts says.

"It is these circumstances that open up possibilities for a movement towards a real Commonwealth. A Commonwealth which will successfully solve not only the questions of economic interaction, but also political problems, as well as security problems," the author writes.

Trade union daily TRUD speaks about the fate and prospects for democratic reform in Russia. It publishes an article by Pavel Kudyukin, one of the leaders of the Social Democratic Party of Russia, in which he warns that "anarchy in Russia will give way to dictatorship."

He believes that "a fierce fighting is going on in the upper echelons of power. This is a clash between two clans genetically connected with the old nomenclature. Russia may move not towards a free socially-oriented market, but a special system dominated by monopoly corporations with strong state control. Most likely, this will be accompanied by a firm authoritarian regime, while democracy will be preserved only as a 'cover'."

Press Review for 7 Sep

LD0709053793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0450 GMT 7 Sep 93

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow September 7 TASS - Most of Moscow-based newspapers today highlight the problem of the Black Sea Fleet. NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA (INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER) writes: "So, the question is whether Boris Yeltsin and Leonid Kravchuk reached agreement at their meeting in Massandra. During the press conference glum-faced Kravchuk, it seemed, was thinking over what he would tell at the Borispol airport upon returning to Kiev, rather than what to tell journalists".

"When news media began simultaneously to convey the opinions of the two presidents—those expressed in Massandra and Borispol, and when they were supplemented by statements from General Grachev in Moscow and Ukrainian Government officials and parliamentarians in Kiev, it became clear: The two sides seek to conceal the genuine results of the meeting at all costs, mindful of its internal political consequences.

"Indisputable so far is the accord on nuclear weapons which are to be turned over to Russia. Previously such news could have become sensation number one. This time, however, everyone is, for some reason, preoccupied with the Black Sea Fleet, not nuclear arms.

"Boris Yeltsin hurried to state [on] the Massandra lawn—and that was effective—that the Black Sea Fleet together with its bases is to be fully transferred to Russia on account of Ukrainian debts.

"Kravchuk said at Borispol airport that it can be only a question of the sale of part of ships from Ukraine's share. Pavel Grachev speaks of the signing of an appropriate protocol. The concluding communique of the meeting, circulated by the press service of the Russian president, is lacking even a hint at such accords.

"But it is evident that such proposal, which is disrespectful to Ukraine from the viewpoint of state and national prestige but which is obviously not without advantage to its bankrupt economy, was put forward by Boris Yeltsin and did not meet with a convincing rebuff on the part of Leonid Kravchuk...", NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA observes.

TRUD points out, for its part, that "there are mixed and contradictory views of the results of the Yalta meeting in Ukraine. And it could not be otherwise. The implementation of the accords is another thing. Kravchuk's stand added fuel to the fire of the acutest socio-political atmopshere in the country which is on the verge of a crisis of power, a possible resignation of both the parliament and the Leonid Kuchma team, and after them, possibly, a resignation of the president. So, a reasonable question today is who will implement the decisions taken in Massandra and whether they will be implemented at all."

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA quotes Ilya Konstantinov, a deputy to the Russian parliament, as stating that "it is necessary to note first of all that it is Ukraine's economic disaster that underlies the agreement on both the fleet and nuclear disarmament...I think the Crimean agreements will not be ratified either by the parliament of Russia or the parliament of Ukraine. To us, the implementation of the Crimean agreements is impossible for economic reasons".

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA reports that leaflets appeared in Lvov, western Ukraine, on Sunday. According to the newspaper, propaganda materials were circulated as well and a Russian tri-colour flag was burnt. Such an action of protest was organised by a committee for the salvation of the honour of the nation and the power. The committee, set up in Lvov two days before, came forward with a demand for the "resignation of traitor-President Leonid Kravchuk who has given away the Black Sea Fleet and nuclear arms to Russia..."

PRAVDA believes that "the destiny of the Black Sea Fleet should be decided so as not to cast a shadow on the national dignity of the people and not to hurt their innermost feelings. Otherwise, that would give weapon to local nationalists".

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA carries "a letter of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation to the Communists about the party's place in the political life of Russia".

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (RED STAR) reports that 505 people in Russia have been sentenced to death by now. However, this year a lesser number of criminals were executed by firing squad than last year. It is not ruled out that a new legal norm—life imprisonment—will be applied to some of those sentenced to capital punishment.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA runs a report by the Gorbachev Foundation on the position of Russians in ex-Soviet countries.

Officials Comment on Accords Signed With Ukraine

Yeltsin Interviewed on Talks

LD0409171293 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1622 GMT 4 Sep 93

[Interview with President Boris Yeltsin by Russian TV correspondent Boris Belov and unidentified Ostankino TV correspondent in Moscow on 4 September—recorded]

[Text] [Belov] Boris Nikolayevich, an accord was reached on the Black Sea Fleet yesterday. None of the previous accords have been fulfilled, in one way or another. What are the guarantees that this latest accord will be fulfilled?

[Yeltsin] The latest accord is linked with financial issues, with Ukraine's debt to Russia. Three matters were discussed: the debts, the Black Sea Fleet, and nuclear weapons.

On the first issue, that of the debts, we did not reach any accord, since Ukraine is unable to pay its debts. This was suggested: Why don't you give up your part of the Black Sea Fleet, so there will be a Russian Black Sea Fleet, and we will cancel the debts. Perhaps it will be less; perhaps it will be more. That will have to be figured. According to our calculations, however, we will not lose out. We will have our fleet, however, with the appropriate base in Sevastopol—the material and technical base, the repair base, the workshops, the social and cultural amenities—everything necessary for the life and activity of the fleet.

Sevastopol will be the naval base of the Black Sea Fleet, with all that follows from that. According to the treaties, everything—absolutely everything—will be utilized, from production works and buildings, to housing and social and cultural amenities.

We will, of course, be making an appropriate contribution to this infrastructure, which will be essential. At the same time, however, we will be providing jobs for the Crimea, which is currently going through a very difficult time—in particular, at its repair factories.

There was also, I would say, a breakthrough regarding nuclear arms. As far as Belarus and Kazakhstan are concerned, we have longstanding agreements with them. There are no problems there. There have been problems with Ukraine, and we have agreed on compensation in the form of unenriched uranium in the quantity that they transfer to us as nuclear warheads. Our specialists will dismantle these warheads, transport them, and recycle [utilizirovat] them appropriately at our factories.

The United States is helping us with this. Four hundred million dollars have been earmarked from the budget and approved by Congress to separate the plutonium and uranium and later give the unenriched uranium back to the Ukraine for its nuclear power stations.

All documents concerning this problem were signed yesterday. We consider the affair closed. For us, there is nothing left to clarify.

There is a timetable, and there is the matter of how to do it in technical terms—how to transport and destroy them and at what speed—absolutely everything. As regards compensation for tactical weapons, we have already destroyed them and we did not have such a compensation agreement in the past.

[Unidentified Ostankino TV correspondent] Boris Nikolayevich, I am from the Ostankino Television and Radio Broadcasting Company. Your decree temporarily removing the vice president and the first vice premier is the subject of very vigorous debate. What is your view of the present situation?

[Yeltsin] I believe the decree was necessary and unavoidable in the current climate. There are documents, and in order for the administrative bodies—the procuracy and the investigators—to sort the matter out once and for all they were temporarily removed from their posts, in strict accordance with the Constitution and with the law on the president. They have not been dismissed from their posts but temporarily removed while the investigators and the procuracy carry out their work.

Therefore, I regret that the Supreme Soviet made its decision yesterday. It shows that the Supreme Soviet does not know either its own Constitution or the law.

[Belov] One more question, if I may. It is about the future of the summit meeting of the CIS states.

[Yeltsin] The fact is that this issue is being discussed by the Ukrainian Parliament, and Leonid Makarovich Kravchuk asked firmly that the heads of state meeting not be held until this issue is discussed, even though absolutely everybody has agreed. However, it has been postponed from the 7th to the 24th [September]. Everybody was consulted and they agreed. I think it will be a very serious meeting connected with the economic union.

[Belov] Thank you.

[Yeltsin] Thank you and goodbye.

Kostikov Statement on Talks

LD0409104293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1007 GMT 4 Sep 93

[Text] Moscow September 4 TASS—Russian Presidential Press Secretary Vyacheslav Kostikov made the following statement on Saturday [4 September]:

"Fundamental agreements of principle importance for Russia which were reached in the Crimea between the presidents of Russia and Ukraine clearly show who can effectively defend Russia's national interests, the interests of the Russian people, the interests of the Russian Army and Navy, the interests of Russian minorities in former Soviet republics. The agreements on the Black

Sea Fleet, on Sevastopol and a basic agreement on the withdrawal from Ukraine of strategic nuclear warheads meet Russia's vital interests. These interests have been ensured by coordinated work of President (Boris) Yeltsin, Prime Minister (Viktor) Chernomyrdin, Defence Minister (Pavel) Grachev, diplomats of the Foreign Ministry of the Russian Federation, the entire Russian Government.

Their real work aimed at defending Russia's interests makes even more ridiculous, speculative and unscrupulous the efforts by the Supreme Soviet to discredit the executive branch, minor attacks on the president and attempts to disavow his decrees.

It is becoming more and more evident that the present composition of the Supreme Soviet has exhausted its political and moral authority. Millions of TV viewers have become witnesses of its voting methods. The activity of the Supreme Soviet has become destructive for the country's stability. Its leaders are facing serious responsibility for the damage they cause to Russia's interests."

Grachev Gives News Conference on Fleet Decision

LD0409145393 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1230 GMT 4 Sep 93

[Report on news conference given by Defense Minister Pavel Grachev on 4 September in Moscow by correspondent Viktor Levin; Grachev remarks recorded]

[Text] [Levin] The news conference was largely devoted to discussing views on the issue of the Black Sea Fleet after the talks held by the Russian and Ukrainian presidents in the Crimea. The defense minister said that the talks had been constructive, adding that the presidents had signed a protocol that resolves, in principle, the question of the Black Sea Fleet—which, with all its infrastructure in the Crimea—will be used by Russia while its ships will hoist Russian flags. General Grachev said:

[Grachev] This solution is fundamentally new. If the two sides continue to show willingness to resolve all problems, this will make it possible, in our opinion, to resolve all disputed issues relating to the problem of the Black Sea Fleet. The state delegations of the Russian Federation and Ukraine have been instructed to consider within a month all questions involved in drawing up an agreement between Russia and Ukraine regarding conditions for the deployment of the Black Sea Fleet on Crimean territory.

In our opinion, along with arrangements for mutual settlements for the use of the Black Sea Fleet by Russia, the main questions to be posed are the questions on the protection of political, social, and economic rights of the Black Sea Fleet personnel, members of their families, and retired servicemen of the Russian Federation Armed Forces living on Ukrainian territory. It is necessary to settle some questions concerning the use of the technical and maintenance base in the Crimea, as well as questions of participation of the Russian side in developing the socioeconomic sphere, and in the construction of housing in the town of Sevastopol and in other populated areas where military units, installations, and organizations belonging to the fleet are to be located. There is a lot of work to be done, but the main task has been fulfilled—a fundamental decision on the Black Sea Fleet has been reached.

This opens up the way to a civilized resolution of all the problems between the Russian Federation and Ukraine, and—what is particularly important—is in accord with the interests of the Black Sea Fleet personnel, the inhabitants of Sevastopol, the population of Crimea, and the Russian Federation.

[Levin] To my question of how the Black Sea Fleet command is going to treat the officers who took an oath of allegiance to the Ukraine, but might now wish to serve under the Russian flag, the defense minister gave an unambiguous reply.

[Grachev] Not a single officer will be allowed to return to the Russian Armed Forces, however good he may be professionally, if he has sworn allegiance to another state.

[Levin] A question was also asked at the news conference whether difficulties might not arise in having the newly drawn-up agreement ratified by the Ukrainian Supreme Council. Here is the opinion of the Russian defense minister.

[Grachev] What I read to you just now was produced at the initiative of Leonid Makarovich Kravchuk, the president of Ukraine. In making such a statement, Leonid Makarovich, I think, already had an agreement with the Ukrainian Supreme Council in reserve. The more so, since Vasyl Durdynets, first deputy chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Council, was taking part in the work, and he expressed no opposition.

Comments on Nuclear Weapons

LD0409151393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1320 GMT 4 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS military observer Andrey Naryshkin]

[Text] Moscow, 4 Sep—The leaders of Russia and Ukraine signed "a package of documents necessary for guaranteeing nuclear and ecological safety in the use of nuclear weapons situated on the territory of Ukraine" in the Crimea on 3 September, Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev, stated at a news conference today. This package includes "the basic principles for recycling [boyezaryad] nuclear weapons of the strategic nuclear forces stationed in Ukraine," an intergovernmental agreement "on recycling nuclear weapons" and an agreement "on the procedure for carrying out the guaranteed and signatories [avtorskiy] inspection on the use of strategic missile complexes."

In accordance with these documents, he said, "all warheads of strategic nuclear weapons are withdrawn to Russia's territory, and are recycled at Russian enterprises. The Ukraine receives either rods for reactors of nuclear power stations, or a proportion from the sale of low-enriched Uranium. Naturally, Russia's expenses will be taken into account for the dismantling, transportation, and processing of the warheads.

"Our accords on the recycling of these weapons will be a gesture of goodwill, designed to clear away the problem of ratification of the START I Treaty in the Ukrainian Supreme Council," Pavel Grachev said.

In his opinion, the signing of these documents, "will lead to a qualitatively positive change for the better in the development of the situation around nuclear weapons, and the whole set of international problems that have arisen in connection with this. They are in the interests of the Ukraine and Russia, and lead not only to the untying of one of the most serious knots of contradictions between our states, but also to strengthening of their positions in the world community," the head of the Russian War Department stressed.

Replying to the ITAR-TASS observer's question as to whether the Ukrainian Supreme Council's decision on "administrative control" of the nuclear forces stationed on its territory will remain in force, Pavel Grachev said: "The Ukraine confirms all the statements made earlier on this subject and is not renouncing a single one of them."

In his turn, Colonel-General Yevgenniy Maslin, head of the 12th Main Directorate of the Russian Federation Defense Ministry, said in reply to a question by the ITAR-TASS correspondent on the schedule for dismantling and transporting nuclear weapons to Russia: "The work will be carried out according to a schedule that the prime ministers of Russia and Ukraine plan to draw up and approve soon." He stressed that at issue were weapons installed both on liquid-fuel and solid-fuel missiles. Weapons whose service life has expired will be dismantled first.

The Russian side considers that 17 months will be sufficient to remove the warheads from Ukrainian territory and completely reprocess them. The fear of remaining, after the warheads have been dismantled "one by one", with the problem of the carrier-rockets, which some of the Ukrainian military are expressing, is completely groundless, Col-Gen. Maslin considers. Once the warheads have been dismantled, it is possible to place equivalent ones on the missiles, and carry out inspection and servicing work for a considerable period. "The world is worried about the nuclear weapons that now exist in Ukraine, even on missiles that are not being properly maintained," he pointed out.

Developing this theme, Pavel Grachev stressed that the Russian side was prepared to help Ukraine with the recycling of carrier-rockets and rocket fuel.

Comments on Agreements

PM0709094593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Sep 93 First Edition p 1

[Report by Viktor Litovkin: "Russia Has Won Dispute in Crimea for Black Sea Fleet and Nuclear Warheads. But This Victory Is Scarcely Definitive"]

[Text] The agreements signed in Crimea between the Russian and Ukrainian leaders on the fate of the Black Sea fleet and the nuclear weapons deployed on the banks of the banks of the Dniepr remain the focus of public attention.

Immediately on his return to Moscow, Army General Pavel Grachev, the Russian defense minister, held a briefing for journalists at which he stated that the problem of the Black Sea Fleet has been resolved in accordance with the will of its personnel and the inhabitants of Sevastopol and Crimea—it remains united. The presidents of the two countries have signed a protocol which resolves in principle the issue of the fact that the Black Sea Fleet with its infrastructure in Crimea will belong to Russia, the ships will raise flags with Russian insignia, and the fleet will transfer completely to Russian provision.

Today Russia pays for 100 percent of its requirements for fuel and lubricants and clothing and related gear and pays for 83.3 percent of financial needs, of which 60 percent consists of salaries for officers and ensigns.

Pavel Grachev said that the protocol signed in Crimea provides for the transfer to Russia, in exchange for oil and gas debts, of the Ukrainian half of the fleet, which should have gone to the republic under previous agreements, including coastal installations, plants, airfields, and even leisure bases. The size of this compensation (experts cite various figures from 37 trillion rubles [R] to 67 trillion—V.L.) should be determined within a month by a special bilateral commission appointed by the governments.

Not a single officer or ensign who has taken the oath of loyalty to another state will serve in the Russian fleet, the minister stated. But he did not rule out the possibility that Ukrainian citizens and also people with dual citizenship will be able to become Black Sea Fleet servicemen, but only under contract.

The minister also commented on the three agreements on nuclear weapons signed in Crimea by the two countries' premiers, Viktor Chernomyrdin and Leonid Kuchma. These are the fundamental principles for the use of the nuclear weapons of the strategic forces deployed in Ukraine, the agreement between the governments on the utilization of nuclear warheads and the agreement between the two states on the procedure for exercising supervision under the manufacturer's warranty and guarantee period [avtorskiy i guarantiynyy nadzor] over the operation of strategic missiles.

In Ukraine there are 1,240 warheads for SS-19 and SS-24 mirved ICBM's and 600 warheads for long-range cruise missiles. Now all these warheads, the minister said, will be exported to Russia and dismantled at Russian enterprises and Ukraine will receive as compensation for them fuel elements—rods for nuclear power stations' nuclear reactors—or part of its share from the sale of low-grade nuclear fuel on the world market after the deduction of the cost of shipment, processing, and storage.

Ukraine will begin to receive fuel rods a year after the withdrawal of the warheads and their withdrawal could begin only after the Ukrainian parliament has ratified the START I Treaty and, naturally, after the same organ has approved the "nuclear agreements" between the two countries.

But here, in the opinion of many experts, there lies the main obstacle to the fulfillment of the Crimean accords. But even if these agreements are approved by the Ukrainian parliament—which remains dubious—there are a number of questions to which there is not yet any clear reply in mutual relations between the two countries and not only between them.

The first is the 46 SS-24 Mirved solid-fuel ICBM's which do not come under the jurisdiction of the START I Treaty. Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk has frequently stated that his country has nothing to do with the START II Treaty, which implies the reduction of these missiles. If the 460 nuclear warheads from these missiles are brought into Russia what will replace them on the missiles on alert duty? Warheads with a conventional TNT equivalent? When it is targeted on a nuclear electric power station would it be a nuclear weapon or not?

Another question is the real worth of the Ukrainian part of the Black Sea Fleet and its infrastructure in Crimea, including manpower and the sociocultural fund. We have already cited the discrepancy in the figures used by the experts. A month is obviously not enough to calculate this cost considering not only the degree of wear and tear of the ships and the base support unit but also the political confrontation in Ukraine over this very acute problem. How much can Ukraine get for the nuclear warheads if the storage of one gram of plutonium-259, and it makes up the basis of a warhead, is $2 a year while Russia's expenses on these purposes according to experts' estimates will require $140-160 million?

These unresolved questions leave doubts as to Russia's unconditional victory in the dispute with Ukraine for the Black Sea Fleet and nuclear warheads.

Urges Military Union With Ukraine

LD0409125193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1218 GMT 4 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Naryshkin]

[Text] Moscow September 4 TASS—Russian Defence Minister Pavel Grachev has called for a military union between Russia and Ukraine.

Speaking at a news conference in Moscow on Saturday [4 September], Grachev said Ukraine does not have a military union with Russia and "unfortunately does not participate in the Collective Security Treaty."

Therefore the question about "ensuring its security from the Black Sea is not on the agenda yet," Grachev said, following the Ukrainian-Russian agreement to hand over the Black Sea Fleet under Russia's control.

"In a private conversation with Vasiliy Durdinets (first deputy Ukrainian parliamentary chairman) yesterday I said that after the Black Sea Fleet becomes Russian, it would be desirable that Ukraine comes up with an initiative to establish a military union with Russia, at least on the Black Sea," Grachev said.

Notes 'Civilized Resolution' to Problems

LD0409125093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1043 GMT 4 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS military observer Andrey Naryshkin]

[Text] Moscow, 4 Sep—The fundamental decision that has been taken on the Black Sea Fleet "opens up the way to a civilized resolution of all the problems between the Russian Federation and Ukraine," and is in accord with the interests of the personnel of the Black Sea Fleet, the inhabitants of Sevastopol, the population of Crimea, and Russia," Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev, stated today at a news conference.

Asked by the ITAR-TASS observer how realistic the prospects were that the Ukrainian Supreme Council would ratify the protocol "On settling the problems of the Black Sea Fleet," which was signed in the Crimea on Friday, he said that a compromise solution had been found after a statement by President Leonid Kravchuk. "In making such a statement Leonid Makarovich Kravchuk, I think, already had an agreement with the Ukrainian Supreme Council in reserve; the more so, since Vasyl Durdynets, first deputy chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Council, was taking part in the work, and he expressed no opposition."

In his turn Admiral Feliks Gromov, commander in chief of the Russian Navy, cited at ITAR-TASS's request some statistics reflecting the proportional involvement of Russia and Ukraine in providing for the needs of the Black Sea Fleet. He said that in the first eight months of the current year, the Russian side had been providing 83.3 percent of the total financing of the Black Sea Fleet, and the Ukrainian side 16.7 per cent. As far as specific items of expenditure are concerned, they are as follows: During this period Russia provided the Black Sea Fleet with 100 percent of its fuel and lubricants, its material equipment, paid 60 percent of its monetary maintenance, and 27 percent of its food costs.

Naval Chief Gromov Welcomes Fleet Accord

LD0409104693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1039 GMT 4 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS military news analyst Andrey Naryshkin]

[Text] Moscow September 4 TASS—The protocol on the Black Sea Fleet, signed on Friday [3 September] by the presidents of Russia and Ukraine, "contributes to improving the political situation in the fleet, and inspires the Black Sea Fleet officers' confidence that they will have a single command," Admiral Feliks Gromov, commander-in-chief of the Russian Navy, told ITAR-TASS on Saturday [4 September] in an exclusive interview.

The two presidents are known to have agreed that the "Ukrainian half" of the Black Sea Fleet, including the coastal infrastructure, be allotted to Russia which remits Kiev's debt concerning payments for the supply of energy resources.

At the same time Gromov emphasised that an additional elaboration of "a large package of matters, connected with dual citizenship of officers and the provision of social guarantees for those who would subsequently come to serve in Ukraine" would be needed.

Not a single person should be left with hard feeling or destitute, the Russian naval chief stressed. A mechanism for the solution of these problems is to be worked out by the state delegations of the two countries.

Asked whether Ukraine's navy would come into being, Gromov answered in the affirmative. "As a state, Ukraine has the right to have its own naval forces. It is busy creating them. We shall render assistance to Ukraine in this respect. Specific forms of the assistance are to be determined through negotiations", he said.

Lawmakers View Ratification of Fleet Deal

LD0609141493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1339 GMT 6 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—An influential lawmaker predicted that the Russian parliament would ratify the latest agreement between the Russian and Ukrainian presidents to swap the Ukrainian part of the Black Sea Fleet for its debt for the Russian fuel.

"The Crimean agreements of the presidents of Russia and Ukraine would be supported by the Russian parliament", Yevgeniy Ambartsumov, chairman of the parliamentary committee on international affairs and foreign economic relations, told TASS on Monday.

The Ukrainian overall debt to Russia exceeds one trillion roubles, according to several sources.

Earlier Presidents Boris Yeltsin and Leonid Kravchuk had agreed to share the disputed Navy fifty-fifty.

Ambartsumov welcomed the idea to swap the debt for the Ukrainian part of the fleet as it will allow to keep it united and Russian, thus "taking into account the tradition of the Navy's unity and the status of Sevastopol as an historical base of the Russian Fleet".

He added that the such a solution of the long-lasting dispute will allow Russia "to preserve and develop economic relations with Ukraine helping it to get out of a grave economic crisis" which is in the interests of both countries.

"The Crimean agreements resolve many acute problems", Ambartsumov said referring to tensions in bilateral relations caused by the decision of the Russian parliament to proclaim Sevastopol Russian territory.

Another influential lawmaker also supported the latest agreements and expressed hope that Ukraine will abide by them.

Oleg Rumyantsev, chairman of the parliamentary constitutional commission, told TASS that he hopes "Ukrainian people will take account of the existing situation with Ukrainian indebtedness to Russia and will treat with understanding the agreements of Boris Yeltsin and Leonid Kravchuk and will support their president".

Leader of the centrist "Civic Union" bloc Vasiliy Lipitskiy was more cautious in his assessments. There were no "juridical decisions" to finally fix the fifty-fifty sharing of the Black Sea Fleet, he told TASS on Monday meaning there had been no parliamentary approval of the agreement. The issue of buying out warships and naval bases needs "serious legal preparations", he added.

Azerbaijan's President Aliyev Meets Officials in Moscow

Calls Meeting With Yeltsin 'New Starting Point'

LD0609124793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1055 GMT 6 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Anna Melnikova, Gennadiy Talalayev, and Viktor Shulman]

[Text] Moscow, 6 Sep—Geydar Aliyev, chairman of the National Assembly and acting president of Azerbaijan, described his meeting with President Boris Yeltsin of the Russian Federation today as "a new starting point" in relations between Azerbaijan and Russia.

In reply to a question from an ITAR-TASS correspondent after his meeting in the Kremlin, Aliyev said that he was satisfied with the conversation, which "was conducted in an atmosphere of good will, mutual respect, and mutual understanding". Azerbaijan's leader reported that a package of issues aimed at further improving relations between the two states had been discussed at the meeting.

"Despite the fact that relations have not been entirely smooth and a sort of coolness set in over the last 18

months to two years," Aliyev said, "both presidents agreed that this was in neither of the states interests nor in the national interests of Azerbaijan and Russia." Aliyev shared the appraisal of the Russian president: "Everything happened, not through the fault of Russia, but because the previous leaders of Azerbaijan took up a position of self- isolation from Russia."

"The main result of our meeting," Aliyev stressed, "consists in our being unanimous concerning the necessity of improving relations in all directions." He reported that specific measures will be discussed during his meeting with Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, Foreign Affairs Minister Andrey Kozyrev, and Defense Minister Pavel Grachev.

Touching on the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh, Aliyev stressed the fact that "Russia cannot remain neutral with respect to one of the most burning issues in the region of the Caucasus. We have agreed on the principles on which we could cooperate" to settle the conflict, he said. According to Aliyev, these principles will be given concrete expression during the course of meetings with the leaders of the Russian foreign policy and military departments.

Aliyev said that Azerbaijan plans to take part in the forthcoming meeting of the heads of the CIS states on 24 September. Speaking of the possibility of Azerbaijan joining the Commonwealth, Aliyev noted that "it was a bilateral process".

"We have already taken steps in that direction and expect an adequate response," Aliyev stressed. He added that the parliament had given him the authority to conduct talks and to make decisions on this issue.

Aliyev said that "Azerbaijan supported democratic reforms in Russia", at the same time noting that the republic "will never return to the communist regime".

In response to a question on whether he would be a candidate for the post of head of state in this year's elections on 3 October, the Azerbaijani leader replied that he would take part in them if the people showed confidence in him, noting at the same time that he had already been nominated.

Discusses Karabakh With Grachev

LD0709083193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0752 GMT 7 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Andrey Naryshkin and Viktor Shulman]

[Text] Moscow September 7 TASS—Concrete ways to peacefully settle the Nagorno-Karabakh issue were discussed during an almost two-hour meeting between Azeri leader Geydar Aliyev and Russian Defence Minister General Paval Grachev here on Monday [6 September]. Replying to ITAR-TASS, the head of the Russian Defence Ministry stressed that the discussion proceeded "with an unfolded map of the present situation in Nagorno-Karabakh and around it on the table".

Grachev noted that Aliyev had asked him to use "the authority of the Russian Army and the Defence Ministry, my personal relations with the Armenian leadership" in order to secure "an immediate end to the hostilities and to ensure the withdrawal of Armenian armed units from Azerbaijan." "What is more," he said, "it is necessary to take into account the fact that Armenia is a member of the Commonwealth of Independent States and a party to the collective security treaty. We have confirmed our readiness to start working on the problem right away, beginning from tomorrow," the Russian defence minister said.

Asked by ITAR-TASS whether the Azeri leadership linked the settlement of the Karabakh conflict with the republic's accession to the CIS, Aliyev stressed that the two problems should be discussed separately. "Accession to the CIS is a major problem of principle which is of state importance for us. As to the stopping of hostilities, which are now going on not in the former Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region, but far outside it, Russia, including the Defence Ministry of the Russian Federation, could play a very important peace-making role in the region due to its political influence and authority." He expressed satisfaction with the fact that "both the president of the Russian Federation and the defence minister have expressed readiness to render assistance to the effort."

Speaking about the extent of the support enjoyed in Azerbaijan by the idea of membership in the CIS, Aliyev said: "We have discussed the problem in our parliament openly." "This idea has quite a number of opponents, but also quite a few supporters," he noted. "Proceeding from the interests of our state, I personally believe Azerbaijan should be a member of the CIS, of course, if the other members of the Commonwealth do not object to it. I have in view membership both in an economic alliance and in the collective Security Council, etc.," Aliyev noted.

Holds Talks With Shakhray

LD0709105393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0951 GMT 7 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Viktor Shulman]

[Text] Moscow, 7 September—Matters concerning the settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijan conflict were the main topic of today's meeting between Russian Deputy Prime Minister Sergey Shakhray and Geydar Aliyev, acting Azerbaijani president and chairman of the Supreme Soviet, in Moscow. In their view, this conflict, which has long moved beyond the confines of Nagorno-Karabakh and entailed the occupation by the Armenian Armed Forces of a considerable amount of Azerbaijan's territory, has aggravated the already difficult sociopolitical situation in that republic.

Sergey Shakhray and Geydar Aliyev noted that recent events in southwestern Azerbaijan, during which a number of rayons on the Iranian border were captured, could lead to an "internationalization" of the conflict. It was stressed that the deployment of Iranian Armed Forces on the opposite side of the border, which followed that side being fired upon by Armenian Armed Forces active in that region, was giving rise to legitimate concerns among the leadership of neighboring countries—Russia and Turkey. In connection with this, those taking part in the meeting were agreed in the view that it was essential to take measures for an immediate cease-fire in the conflict zone, a phased withdrawal from all land in Azerbaijan occupied by Armenian armed formations, and the return of the local population living temporarily in other rayons of the republic before the onset of the cold weather.

In the words of Azerbaijani Deputy Prime Minister Abbas Abbasov, the Azerbaijani side agreed with the Russian deputy prime minister's proposal to hold a quadripartite meeting in the very near future with the participation of the heads of the three Caucasian sides and Russia. Abbasov noted that the need for it is dictated by concern both in Azerbaijan and in Russia over the continuing escalation in the Caucasus region and over the tension in relations between states with common borders in the area. This meeting, at which the situation in the region is to be discussed, is expected to take place in Moscow as early as 20 September.

In a brief statement for the press, Geydar Aliyev stressed the importance of the matters discussed, which are related not only to the settlement of the Karabakh problem but primarily to the development of Azerbaijani-Russian relations. This meeting, he believes, was the logical continuation of his talks with the Russian leadership begun on Monday. The acting president of the Republic of Azerbaijan assessed them as very fruitful and productive and in the interests of both countries.

Notes Release of Russian Servicemen

LD0609151993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1354 GMT 6 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Lyudmila Yermakova and Viktor Shulman]

[Text] Moscow, 6 Sep—Geydar Aliyev, chairman of the National Assembly and acting president of Azerbaijan, met Russian Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov today at Russia's House of the Soviets. The high-ranking guest presented the Russian parliamentary speaker with the resolution of the Azerbaijan National Assembly consenting to the release of six Russian servicemen—five of whom had been sentenced to death by Azerbaijan's military collegium. They will be handed over to Russian law-enforcement bodies.

Noting that this decision was not an easy one to make, Aliyev stressed that "it was made in a difficult moral and political situation; the aggression on the republic's territory continues, and there are many refugees." In making this decision, however, Azerbaijan "proceeded from humanist principles and the national interests of both countries, which desire an improvement in relations."

The Azerbaijani head of state voiced the hope that this act "will receive the appropriate attention from the Russian leadership and public". He is certain that measures will be taken in Russia to prevent its servicemen from participating in combat actions against Azerbaijan.

Khasbulatov called the decision by colleagues from Azerbaijan "a major event: After all, this is a matter of the lives of young men who have committed misdemeanors and crimes." In the view of the chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet, since the breakup of the USSR, all of the countries have been, "as it were, in a stage of emergence, and therefore it is necessary to pool efforts and to jointly solve many problems—primarily humanitarian ones".

Khasbulatov noted Aliyev's major role in carrying out this act of good will.

Kozyrev Sees 'New Stage in Relations'

LD0609103693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1010 GMT 6 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Sergey Ryabikin and Viktor Shulman]

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—Azerbaijan's acting President Geydar Aliyev said he was going to participate in a CIS summit scheduled for September. He did not exclude the possibility of Azerbaijan joining the Commonwealth. Aliyev addressed reporters on Monday [6 September] before his meeting with Andrey Kozyrev.

In his turn, the Russian foreign minister noted that Monday's meeting of Boris Yeltsin and Geydar Aliyev has marked a new stage in relations between the two countries. "It is time to stop throwing stones, it is necessary to get together our strength and friends. Both Russia and Azerbaijan are interested in this", he said.

Kazakhstani Delegation Meets With Chernomyrdin

LD0609100093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0936 GMT 6 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—Negotiations have begun in Moscow's government building in Staraya Square between Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation Viktor Chernomyrdin and a state delegation from Kazakhstan, which includes President Nursultan Nazarbayev and Prime Minister Sergey Tereshchenko.

Before the two delegations sat down at the negotiating table, Viktor Chernomyrdin and Nursultan Nazarbayev had a one-on-one conversation in the Russian premier's office for more than an hour.

Sergey Tereshchenko told ITAR-TASS the delegation from Kazakhstan was due to discuss with the leadership of the Russian Federation questions relating to the creation of an economic union involving Commonwealth member-states and to specify our positions in this respect. The delegations are also planning to examine the problem of payment and debts between enterprises of Russia and Kazakhstan.

Sergey Tereshchenko said an intergovernmental agreement between Russia and Kazakhstan was likely to be signed on succession to the property abroad and the former Soviet Union's foreign debts. In accordance with this agreement, Kazakhstan will transfer to Russia the right to own part of the former Soviet property abroad and also the Kazakhstan's share of liability for the former Soviet Union's debts.

Nazarbayev Meets With Yeltsin

LD0609124393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1210 GMT 6 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Anna Melnikova, Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow, 6 Sep— A meeting between President Boris Yeltsin of Russia and President Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan has just begun in the Kremlin. The heads of government of the two countries, Viktor Chernomyrdin and Sergey Tereshchenko, are taking part.

Garim Shamrayev, the press secretary of the Kazakhstan Embassy in Moscow, told the ITAR-TASS correspondents that during the conversation there will be discussion of issues relating to economic cooperation, and also to establishing an economic union of the CIS countries. There is also expected to be discussion of Kazakhstan's intention to remain in the ruble zone. It is not ruled out that Nursultan Nazarbayev may even today put his signature to the relevant agreement. It is expected that Armenia and Uzbekistan may add their signatures to this document at a later date.

Another issue to be raised at the Kremlin meeting is that of signing an intergovernmental agreement on legal succession in regard to property abroad and the foreign debt of the former USSR, and on the status of the Baykonur cosmodrome and its financing by Russia and Kazakhstan.

Grachev Defends Border Troops' Actions in Tajikistan

LD0509181293 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0815 GMT 5 Sep 93

[Text] [Announcer] Several days ago, two newspapers published a letter from former Security Minister Viktor Barannikov claiming, in particular, that the Russian Defense Ministry was to blame for the tragedy of the 12th border post on the Tajik-Afghan border. This letter has had great repercussions in certain political circles. Army-General Pavel Grachev believes that his honor as a minister and that of the ministry's has been offended through this accusation. He expressed the belief that the person who wrote the letter was not Barannikov himself, whom Grachev called his friend, but that it had been written at someone's bidding. Regarding the essence of the problem, the Russian defense minister said:

[Begin Grachev recording] First of all, I would like to point out that Russia's Armed Forces, in accordance with the Russian Federation law on defense, are intended for repulsing aggression and in defeating the aggressor and also for carrying out tasks in accordance with the international obligations of the Russian Federation. In accordance with this law, a decision on the use of the Armed Forces beyond the borders of the Russian Federation is made by the Supreme Soviet; again, I repeat, a decision.

Unfortunately, the Supreme Soviet did not adopt a decision but instructed the government, even in this case, to take every measure to prevent such conflicts. I believe, and my colleagues believe, that there was no invasion as such by groupings from the Republic of Afghanistan into Tajikistan's territory. In this conflict it can only be a question of Tajikistan solving an internal problem connected with the struggle by opposing political groups.

Around eight to nine months ago I was always saying: Take the 201st division and reinforce the border post because the news we are getting is negative. Barannikov claimed that the reserve of border troops in Tajikistan was capable of solving the tasks of guarding and defending the border unaided.

The decisions of the Security Council in this regard were based on assurances from the security minister. During the period until 12 July, in accordance with the decisions adopted, the main efforts of the Russian Defense Ministry in Tajikistan were aimed at offering aid to Tajikistan and the formations of its national armed forces. The main forces, virtually all the forces, of the 201st motorized infantry division, at the request of the Tajikistan Government and with the confirmation of the president and Government of Russia, carried out the task of guarding particularly important economic and military sites throughout Tajikistan in order to ensure normal life and security. The necessary forces and means were also allocated in order to reinforce Russian border troops, including the 117th border division.

According to the law on military science, cooperation in such cases is organized by the military chief who is carrying out the task of guarding the border. In this case such cooperation as should have been afforded by the senior border chief on Tajikistan territory was not organized as it should have been. [end recording]

[Announcer] In a few minutes you will hear the opinion of Army General Grachev on the direct causes of the tragedy in the 12th border group.

We continue to present to you the opinion of Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev about the causes of the tragedy on the 12th border post.

[Begin Grachev recording] According to the strategic intelligence, border troops had the information about the concentration of various armed formations. Bearing in mind the situation present at that time, when border guards could expect a provocation at any moment, not even basic measures were taken to reinforce border posts.

Taking into account that the armed opposition had heavy weapons, border posts should have been fortified with reinforced points, have covered split trenches, crawl trenches, shelters, bunkers, equipped and protected machine gun positions, and secure cover for other firearms. None of this had been done. The most probable paths of advancement of the bandit groups had not been mined, although border guards knew all roads and paths that bandit groups could possibly use.

Apart from that, and this is the worst, none of the border posts had reliable communications means either among themselves, or with their units, without mentioning the 201st Motorized Infantry Division, which they completely forgot about. Nominally, some posts had a radio station, but either there were no batteries or the batteries were not charged.

As a result of this, in the first minute of the battle, when the communications point—which by the way was also not appropriately protected—was destroyed, communications with the outpost were immediately cut off. Border guards had no idea what was happening on that post. Because of that, the command of the group of Russian border troops in Tajikistan had no idea what was really happening during the first hours of the battle, and therefore could not take the necessary emergency measures. The reserve maneuver groups of the border units could not help the outpost either, because they were very far and had not been repositioned closer to the border beforehand. This makes one doubt how well the intelligence services were operating.

To put it mildly, it seems that the command of the troops had brushed aside the possibility of such an attack on border troops. This is confirmed by the fact that outposts were equipped only with light firearms. At the same time about 150 grenade launchers were kept at ammunition depots in Tajikistan. Moreover, even the ammunition for the firearms was kept in crates, and instead of being distributed in trenches was somehow kept in one ammunition depot, which was put out of use with the first shot. Men were left without ammunition. This is the main reason for the tragedy.

We admire the bravery and heroism of the border guards. As for the accusations of Army General Barannikov with regard to us, we can only be sorry for that. [end recording]

Border Guards Command Issues Statement on Tajik Situation

PM0609105193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Sep 93 p 3

[Russian Federation Border Guards Press Bureau statement: "Our Soldiers Do Not Shoot For Nothing. Afghan Leadership Voices Concern Over Shelling of Afghan Territory by Russian Border Guards. What Is the Real State of Affairs?"]

[Text] The Russian border guards guarding the Tajik-Afghan border are strictly adhering to the Russian Government's 27 July 1993 statement, which instructed them to refrain from launching preemptive strikes and to take measures solely to put a stop to any armed violations of the border.

Thus, according to figures from the Russian Federation Border Guards Command, a group of up to 30 gunmen crossed the Pyandzh River to a Tajik island 16 August in the 12th Border Post's sector and opened fire on our border guards. A mortar strike was launched at 2300 hours in response. A bombardment of a similar group of 80 Tajik gunmen who were attempting to cross the Pyandzh River was launched 21 August in the 8th and 9th Border Post sectors. On 22 August in the 12th Border Post sector a mortar strike was launched against a group of gunmen who were moving munitions to a Tajik island under the cover of automatic and mortar fire.

A painstaking investigation into each specific case can serve as the response to the accusation against Russia of shelling Afghan territory. But aspects of the problem such as the provocative shelling of Russian border guards by Tajik gunmen with a view to encouraging them to retaliate against groups of Afghans, thereby drawing them into hostilities on the border and on Tajik territory, are of considerable importance. There have also been similar provocations, incidentally, from the Afghan mojahedin with a view to bringing about the defeat of their opponents by making the Russian border guards open fire. Thus, for instance, in the region of the Afghan villages of Chichka and Qarlogh, which stand opposite the 13th Border Post, fighting for spheres of influence continues between the Afghan field commanders Movladi Dzhabbor [name as transliterated] and Khamidulo [name as transliterated]. With a view to inflicting the greatest possible losses on his enemy, Movladi Dzhabbor has voiced his intention to shell Tajik territory.

Usually these incidents are resolved on the spot by bilateral agreements—as shown by the development of the situation in the Moskovskiy Border Detachment's sector, which faces the Afghan 55th Infantry Division deployed on Afghan territory. Under the agreements reached, subunits of the Afghan 55th Division have

started guarding a 76-km stretch of the border with Tajikistan, preventing any Tajik gunmen from crossing the border. At the same time, Russian border guards have been instructed not to allow bullets and shells to fall on Afghan territory when opening fire against intruders.

Further on Prime Minister Chernomyrdin's Visit to U.S.

Meets With U.S. Oilmen, Space Scientists

PM0309105193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Sep 93 First Edition p 3

[Vladimir Nadein report under the "Events and Comments" rubric: "In Houston The Russian Premier Was Interested in Space and Petroleum"]

[Text] Houston—Russian Prime Minister V. Chernomyrdin ended his meetings with Texas oilmen on roughly the same note as he favors during meetings with the Tyumen oilmen—he heartened his audience and assured them that he would spare no effort in resolving the problems that are worrying them.

Admittedly, the actual problems in Texas were different from those in Tyumen. Questions concerned the convertibility of the ruble, foreign investors' ownership of industrial equipment and structures in Russia, and foreigners' rights to purchase shares in Russian enterprises and to ownership of land.

Speaking at this lunch, V. Chernomyrdin made a bold, albeit risky, attempt to draw the outline of the private enterprise with which Russia would like to do business. This must be a major company with large independent funds. It must have state-of-the-art technology, train local personnel, be prepared to work for many decades in Russia, and reinvest the profit made in the Russian economy rather than taking it out of the country.

The audience's reaction was mixed. Some said that Russia is too rich and distinctive to lower itself to the state of "third world" countries and that it should be demanding if not fastidious in its choice of investors. Others were slightly more skeptically-minded, saying that Chernomyrdin's wishes are understandable and natural, but the investment market is too tough, and not all that many companies in this world fully correspond to the criteria put forward, and that an excessively fussy girl risks becoming an old maid.

Although the hosts did not succeed in hearing any clear-cut answers from V. Chernomyrdin to many of the questions raised, they left the lunch entirely satisfied. First of all, the Russian premier had clearly convinced them that his government at least wants to resolutely conduct market reforms, even if it cannot do so. Second, the whole business world of Houston turned out to see Chernomyrdin, and colleagues told me it is a long time since anyone has attracted such a large and venerable audience.

However pleasant the morning proved to be, the afternoon turned out to be even more pleasant. The L. Johnson Space Center in Houston has always been the scientific-design base of the sector. Following a recent decision to abolish a similar institution in the state of Virginia, Houston remains the monopolist in the creation of space equipment and technology in the United States.

The center's leaders, who gave explanations to the premier, did not hide their delight at Russia's space achievements. The U.S. astronaut Charles Boulder said that his Russian colleagues' experience was invaluable in work on the Shuttle.

According to Academy of Sciences Corresponding Member Yu.P. Semenov, who was part of the delegation, the trip to the Houston center has shown convincingly how useful cooperation is to both sides. "Without Russia's participation, a number of U.S. space projects would need billions of dollars and many years of intensive work," he said. The trip to Houston, experts believe, makes you even more certain that draft treaties on cooperation in space will be signed successfully by the sides on the last day of Chernomyrdin's stay in the United States.

Discusses Nonproliferation, Energy Issues

PM0309105593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 2 Sep 93 p 1

[Pavel Shinkarenko report under "Visits" rubric: "Viktor Chernomyrdin: 'To Cooperate on Equal Terms...'"]

[Text] Yesterday Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, who arrived in Washington the previous evening, began fulfilling the chief task of his visit. Together with U.S. Vice President Albert Gore he opened the first session of the Intergovernmental Commission on Cooperation in the Spheres of Energy and Space. As is known, this organ for the coordination of Russian-U.S. economic ties was created at the summit in Vancouver, Canada on the initiative of Boris Yeltsin and Bill Clinton. It had been proposed to start the commission's work back in July, but the session's opening was twice postponed.

The White House wanted to ascertain whether the Russian contract with India to supply cryogenic engines violates the international treaty on the nonproliferation of rocket technology. (Incidentally, last year Senator Albert Gore, Viktor Chernomyrdin's present counterpart in the talks, submitted an amendment to the law on aiding the reforms in Russia—an amendment linking economic cooperation to the withdrawal of Russian troops from the Baltic region and to the treaty on the nonproliferation of rocket technology). Today the "lacunae" in the cryogenic contract have been eliminated, the Russian troops have pulled out of Lithuania, and the Russian and U.S. government delegations have begun work.

The Russians' approach to the discussion is known. Viktor Stepanovich said back at the start of the visit that he "will never ask for anything," with one exception—"cooperation on equal terms and Russia's access to the world market." Nevertheless, he believes in the success of the talks. Taking a broader view, he remarked, the visit will benefit Russia "not only in the sphere of the oil and gas complex and in the aerospace business" but also "for the whole sector of economic and political cooperation." It is proposed that, following the results of the discussion, the framework agreement between the "Gazprom" Joint-Stock Company and the Enron Company, which was signed back in Houston, might be joined by no less than five intergovernmental agreements.

The United States has described as a "good sign" the Russian Federation Government's decision to accelerate talks with Western companies on the joint development of Sakhalin's oil and gas resources, which the Russian premier reported to businessmen back in Houston. According to him, talks with an oil and gas consortium which includes the U.S. firms of Marathon and McDermott and which won a competition of technical and economic proposals for the right to develop the Piltun-Astokhskoye and Lunskoye deposits (the "Sakhalin-2" project) are to be completed in September-November. This project is expected to start being implemented in 1994, and the first oil will be extracted in six years' time. The U.S. firm of Exxon is involved in the other project—"Sakhalin-1" (the Chayvo, Odoptu, and Arkutun-Daginskoye deposits)—along with Japanese from the firm of Sodeko.

Discusses Aid, Signs Agreements

PM0309132393 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 3 Sep 93 p 1

[Report by Pavel Shinkarenko: "What Viktor Chernomyrdin Offered the Americans. Russian Prime Minister Meets with U.S. President Bill Clinton, and Then, Together with Other Members of Our Delegation, Signs Package of Intergovernmental Agreements"]

[Text] Thursday was the final scheduled day of Viktor Chernomyrdin's visit to the United States, and it was possible to start "gathering the fruits" of the five days of talks, official meetings, and speeches to American business people. The Russian Federation government head was received by President Bill Clinton, met with Secretary of State Warren Christopher and the defense and treasury secretaries, and visited the Capitol, where he had talks with the leaders of Congress. The day before he had talked with M. Camdessus, director of the IMF, and E. Stern, acting president of the World Bank, during which there was a discussion of the schedule for preparing an agreement on allocating Russia reserve credit of $3 billion and on the terms for receiving the second part of the system credit promised by the fund and of the plans to assist the modernization of Russian oil and gas fields.

Unfortunately, the time difference (this issue was already going to press when the working day was only just beginning on the other side of the Atlantic) does not allow us to give the final results. We will do this next time. But even the preliminary data indicate that Viktor Stepanovich has the prerequisites for a striking final "accord." This was demonstrate in particular by the work of the intergovernmental commission on cooperation in the sphere of energy and space, which has ended in Washington. The Russian and U.S. government delegations discussed not only the problems the body was set up to deal with, but also the general situation in economnic links between the two countries.

Speaking at the start of the first session, Viktor Stepanovich noted, in particular, that the switch to the utilization of the great potential for Russian-American cooperation in energy and space research "was made possible by the renunciation of the confrontion of the past and the start of the building of partnership relations between Russia and the United States." He proposed that the intergovernmental commission (it will meet twice a year), by virtue of its status and the senior representation on both sides, should also coordinate bilateral collaboration on the whole range of economic and scientific-technical cooperation, on the basis of existing bilateral institutions.

The head of the Russian Cabinet of Ministers rated highly the active role played by the United States in mobilizing international support for the Russian reforms, in particular at the Tokyo summit. An important area of this support is "helping Russia to get thoroughly integrated in the world economy and ensuring fair access for competitive Russian goods to the U.S. and world markets." "In this connection, I make no secret of our concern at the obstacles that have lately been placed in the way of exports of uranium products and certain raw material commodities to the United States and at the recent EC decision concerning Russian aluminum," the speaker said. I believe that more vigorous efforts should be made to eliminate artificial barriers to the conduct of mutual trade and investments." Viktor Chernomyrdin also suggested that the commission members think about possibly starting a dialogue on setting up a free trade zone, which would take in certain regions of the United States and the Russian Far East.

The commission session also analyzed the process of implementing the accords reached by the Russian and U.S. presidents in Vancouver.

The data the Russian embassy in Washington possesses indicate that 64 percent of the planned "package" is being implemented. Contracts have already been concluded for the construction of 460 specimen show homes for servicemen returning to Russia. Some $6 million were allocated for this. A program has been launched for exchanges of schoolchildren, students, public figures, and politicians. The privatization program is being overfulfilled. The $700 million program for the supply of

food is fully covered by contracts. But so far not a cent has been spent of the $215 million earmarked for giving assistance in the security sphere, that is, for dismantling nuclear armaments and creating facilities for the storage of nuclear warheads.

It appears that some progress has now been made. On Wednesday Viktor Chernomyrdin and Albert Gore signed a memorandum to the Russian-American agreement on the use of uranium derived from nuclear weapons. But, as Viktor Mikhaylov, chief of the Russian Federation Atomic Energy Ministry, said, the contract attached to the agreement, enabling Russia to enter the world market for nuclear power station fuel was not concluded, on the U.S. side's insistence. The White House set a condition: Moscow must first reach an understanding with Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Belarus on the division of the profits from uranium exports. "With the conclusion of this contract we would be able to solve many problems, and not only our sector's," the minister said. Indeed, it envisages Russian supplies of uranium to the world market, one-half of which is controlled by the United States, worth a total of around $12 billion."

At the end of the intergovernmental commission plenary session a ceremony took place at which joint Russian-American documents were signed. Viktor Chernomyrdin and Albert Gore answered journalists' questions. The visit ended at 2000 hours and the aircraft with the Russian delegation on board took off for Moscow.

Clinton, Gore Cited on Cooperation With Russia

PM0609144793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Sep 93 First Edition p 3

[Vladimir Nadein report: "Chernomyrdin Reaps Harvest of Agreements in United States"]

[Text] Washington—V. Chernomyrdin could have likened the last hours of his intensive four-day tour of the United States to reaping the harvest. He and Vice President A. Gore signed a number of agreements which not only exist on paper but are also fully-fledged partnership agreements in commercial essence, that is, advantageous to each of the sides.

The only possible exception is the intergovernmental memorandum on mutual understanding on questions of exporting missile equipment and technology. This self-same problem had twice caused the postponement of Chernomyrdin's visit. The mutual misunderstanding was so serious that additional consultations seemingly only deepened the rift between the governments instead of bridging it. Russia's persistent desire to sell missile technology to India was, strictly speaking, the only crisis element in relations between Moscow and Washington.

This unpleasant page is now closed. "We welcome the agreement on missile equipment and technology," the Russian premier said at the White House ceremony, "and we will strictly observe it."

President Clinton also hastened to note this aspect: "Russia has agreed to observe the principles of control over missile technology, which the United States welcomes."

The President believes that the work carried out by the joint U.S.-Russian commission opens up "a multitude of opportunities for mutual trade and investment between the two countries." The president said that as early as Tuesday [7 September] Congress would receive from the administration a list of approximately 60 documents which, in the White House's opinion, should be examined in the interests of international trade. "And we believe that there will be broad bipartisan support from both Republicans and Democrats in Congress, ensuring that this legislation is passed. In general, I think that you will see rapid legislative action on a wide range of phenomena aimed at getting people to realize that Russia is a democracy, that it is working with us, and that we are moving forward together. And I intend to be very persistent in pushing this package through."

Vice President Gore, as befits the cochairman of a general commission, devoted greater attention to details. He especially singled out the understandings associated with joint work in space, which is aimed at constructing a "truly international space station." Speaking about the need to abandon the vestiges of the Cold War, the vice president remarked that the exchange of advanced technologies is the most reliable way of sweeping away the old barriers.

It is quite obvious that Chernomyrdin managed to carry out his visit in an exclusively businesslike key from start to finish. He was modest, open, and friendly, and if he incurred some people's displeasure it was only because he could not meet with all the people who wanted to meet him.

Summing up not only specific documents but also the feelings aroused by this visit, very many of the people with whom Chernomyrdin spoke were genuinely pleased by the confident firmness with which the Russian defended the course of our political and economic reforms. This was also stressed by President Clinton: "I want to welcome Prime Minister Chernomyrdin here, in the United States. We clearly realize that his support for the program of President Yeltsin's reforms is and will remain vital to its success."

The Russian delegation flew home in two airplanes. One headed for Moscow and the other, with Chernomyrdin on board, for the Crimea, where a meeting between Yeltsin and L. Kravchuk is opening.

Newspapers Assess Results of Chernomyrdin Visit

Hope Seen for 'Normal Business Ties'

PM0609080793 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Sep 93 p 3

[Vladislav Drobkov report: "Is the Optimism Justified? End of Chernomyrdin's U.S. Visit"]

[Text] Washington, 2 Sep—Today Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin's first visit to the United States is to end with the signing of a series of intergovernmental agreements and a meeting with President Bill Clinton. It has been a working visit, filled with important talks and contacts, and has in my view rightly been almost totally devoid of outward ceremonies.

That provides hope that Russian-U.S. relations will gradually switch from the prolonged phase of their leaders' public and somewhat artificial "fraternizing", which provides an extremely negligible real return for our two countries, to normal business ties and cooperation. The documents finally agreed and signed during V. Chernomyrdin's visit also provide hope of that.

They pave the way to extensive use of Russian rockets for U.S. commercial communications satellite launches, for cooperation between our countries in other space research programs, including the development of the Freedom orbital station. Areas for the development of cooperation in power generation, including nuclear power generation, were outlined. And joint efforts in conversion and the expansion of trade and environmental protection were discussed.

At the same time the local press and some politicians point to the remaining obstacles in the way of truly broad and equal partnership between our two countries. The "cold war" laws and restrictions curbing the development of cooperation, imposing bans on the procurement of certain high-tech equipment in the United States, and introducing ceilings on deliveries from Russia are still in force. In the months since Clinton and Yeltsin met in Vancouver the administration has only managed to prepare for Congress a wide-ranging, but by no means complete, list of these restrictions. It is hard to say for certain when they will be lifted, despite administration representatives' optimistic forecasts.

Another characteristic feature of the Americans' reaction to the Russian premier's visit is the constant references to the fact that the visit was made possible "thanks to the tough U.S. stance" on the question of Russia's rocket deal with India. It is not without delight that the press here indicated that Moscow, despite the widely publicized statements by President Boris Yeltsin, had to give way and considerably revise the deal with Delhi under pressure from Washington. In that light the present accords on the use of Russian equipment and technologies in U.S. space programs were often seen as a "reward for obedience."

Nor was the U.S. press very considerate in describing the Russian delegation's aims and intentions at the talks. The influential CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR pointed out for instance that, given the worsening domestic struggle, "reformers in Moscow are impatiently hoping that Mr. Chernomyrdin's visit to the United States will not only generate trade, but will also restore international respect for Russia, despite its current political and economic disorder." The newspaper pointed to the disappointment "in the Yeltsin administration" over reduced Western support for "reforms."

However, almost all the commentaries dealing with the prospects for Russian-U.S. cooperation in any spheres said that one of the most important obstacles to developing this cooperation and to increasing the still meager flow of U.S. investment to Russia is precisely the latter's domestic problems—political instability, economic collapse, the authorities' inability to restore basic order to the regulations and laws governing the activity of foreign companies and banks.

The president's inability to find a common language with parliament and secure a compromise with his opponents from the opposition ranks was particularly highlighted. As if on purpose, news came from Moscow during the visit of Boris Yeltsin's latest "strong-arm attack" on his adversaries, as people here described his barring Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy from his duties. Virtually all the U.S. press articles commenting on this step by the president point out its unconstitutional, unrealistic nature.

In response to journalists' questions Viktor Chernomyrdin and U.S. Vice President Albert Gore, his counterpart chairing the intergovernmental commission, have already on several occasions voiced an extremely positive opinion of the results of their talks in Washington. They have spoken of the "groundwork laid for the future," of improving mutual understanding and organizing personal cooperation, and of the prospects opened up by the documents signed. Time and the specific results of the accords reached during this visit will tell how right these opinions are.

'First Practical Steps' in Cooperation

PM0609152993 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Sep 93 p 2

[Mikhail Pogorelyy report: "Removing Barriers to the Results of Viktor Chernomyrdin's Visit to the United States"]

[Text] The visit by the head of the Russian Government to the United States turned out to be a fleeting one. But its importance is not being determined by its length or even particularly by the volume of work done. The crux of the matter lies rather in that the first practical steps have been taken as regards implementing the Vancouver agreements between the Russian and U.S. Presidents on the development of partnership cooperation between our countries. The timeliness of the trip (and the agreements concluded during it) is underlined by the fact that a package of measures of economic aid to Russian reforms will be discussed by U.S. Congress after 7 September.

And so, what has been done? The outcome of the work of the joint Russian-U.S. intergovernmental commission on collaboration in the sphere of the power industry and space—its cochairmen are Viktor Chernomyrdin and Albert Gore—was that specific documents have been

signed. In particular, Russia has received access to the market for commercial launches of non-military space systems, and spheres of phased cooperation in the elaboration and creation of an international permanent orbital station have been determined.

The first steps have also been taken in cooperation in the sphere of the power industry if you consider this to be something more substantial than our country selling petroleum, gas, and uranium to the United States. In the event, it was a question of capital investments in the Russian oil and gas complex. Texaco ranks first here with its $80 million for the restoration of oil wells in Western Siberia. A memorandum has also been signed, which admittedly does not guarantee any real contracts yet, but in principle ensures access to the world uranium trading market for Russia—on the basis of contracts concluded for us by the United States (it is America which currently controls one-half of all uranium deals).

An agreement to develop joint study of measures to enhance the safety of nuclear electric power stations in the near future was reached in Washington.

During the Washington visit and during Viktor Chernomyrdin's meeting with the U.S. President, Bill Clinton announced that he has already sent Congress a list of around 60 legislative acts from the "cold war" period, which are still hindering the development of economic, scientific, technical, and even cultural cooperation between the two countries even now. Clinton expressed the conviction that the congressmen will acknowledge the fact that Russia has turned into a democratic state, and will reexamine outdated laws from this point of view. At the same time, the U.S. side expressed the opinion that barriers—in the form of imperfect, sometimes even contradictory or discriminatory laws and ordinances—are at the moment blocking the path of U.S. business in Russia. The paths of cooperation must be mutually cleared.

The United States welcomed the signing of the Russian-U.S. memorandum of understanding with the most enthusiasm; in accordance with this, Russia is committing itself to honor the requirements of the missile technologies control regime. It was accusations of violating this regime during the intended sale of cryogenic engines and corresponding technologies to India that for the past year has made the prospect of space cooperation between the Russian Federation and the United States far more difficult (and, incidentally, served as a reason for the postponement of Chernomyrdin's actual visit). The aforementioned memorandum, Washington hopes, will give Moscow the opportunity—and the legal grounds—to sort out its position as regards the content of the Russian-Indian deal before the end of this year.

Judging by the results of the work of the head of the Russian Federation Government in the United States, cooperation is starting to become established as obstacles, as well as mutual incomprehension and sometimes misunderstandings, are eliminated. In time, it will probably even become equal. At the moment, however, bilateral cooperation sometimes looks like unilateral concessions or privileges for the stronger party. Judge for yourselves: The space agreement guarantees the U.S. side two years of flight time and the possibility of conducting experiments on the Russian "Mir" space station, in exchange for "several" (the number has not yet been determined) Shuttle flights plus $100 million compensation. This deal does not look like much of a partnership...

And yet the first practical steps are being taken. This is possibly exactly what we want; subsequent steps will be taken on a larger scale, and will be more successful, and more advantageous—to both sides.

Agreements Viewed as 'Success'

PM0709100993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 Sep 93 First Edition pp 1, 7

["Commentary" by Sergey Demidov: "From America—With Loaded Baggage"]

[Text] Viktor Chernomyrdin's economic diplomacy has led to the conclusion of a package of agreements across the ocean.

Any diplomacy is only worth something when, in addition to winning victories, or at least points, in international "games," it brings in economic dividends to its country. In this sense, according to the strictest criteria, the diplomatic service rendered to Russia by its prime minister, Viktor Chernomyrdin, during his working visit to the United States, which has at last taken place, is worth a lot. For the Ministry of Foreign Affairs it meant many a breakthrough, I feel sure, and also many a setback on the foreign policy front, as the saying goes.

You can say that again. Before his departure across the Atlantic the chairman of the Russian Council of Ministers promised that he did not intend to play the role of a beggar for some kind of alms on the U.S. stage. A role which official Moscow has painstakingly learned by rote, it would appear, over the best part of the last two years. He kept his word. And returned to Russia bringing in his baggage a whole package of documents and agreements signed with the United States. Even despite the fact that his trip, which was strictly on business, took place at a time when, well, Russia can by no means boast of inspiring economic figures or even simply reassuring ones, when the price tags on all goods are continuing their inflationary waltz, and industrial output continues to fall...

And so, the head of the Russian Federation Government was able to use the opportunity (along with his American hosts—S.D.) to steer clear of political storms and get down to business, which he metioned right away on 29 August, immediately on his arrival at Houston Airport in the State of Texas. The concrete results of his talks in the

United States should undoubtedly become, as V. Chernomyrdin's put it, "an impetus toward the active development of economic, trade, and scientific and technical relations between the two countries."

A number of the agreements concluded can already be boldly billed as a success for these relations. For example, the agreement on the joint realization of projects for natural gas power stations in Europe. They will be carried out by the Russian "Gazprom" joint-stock company and the U.S. Enron corporation. As a result Russia could get access to new energy markets in West Europe in addition to those on which it has long been established.

Another success is the achievement of accords with the U.S. side on involving U.S. companies and firms in the production of equipment for the extraction of "black gold" and "blue fuel" needed by Russian oil and gas enterprises. This will make it possible not only to extricate the Russian oil and gas sectors from the mire of crisis, but also to make them competitive in the international arena. The United States, in the person of Vice President Albert Gore, agreed to share its modern technology in this sphere, which will naturally increase the efficiency of the Russian Federation's power engineering complex and strengthen environmental protection controls.

Cooperation in the sphere of capital investments is also promising, in V. Chernomyrdin's opinion. He singled out three main avenues for the attraction of such investments: the restoration and repair of oil wells now standing idle; increasing oil production; and the development of new deposits, which, according to his information, number no fewer than 400.

In addition, after meetings between the head of the Russian cabinet and representatives of the companies Marathon Oil and Macdermott, which together with the Japanese corporations Mitsui and Mitsubishi and also the Anglo-Dutch Royal Dutch-Shell corporation, worked out the technical and economic basis for the development of two oil "points" on the Sakhalin shelf, it was decided to begin the next phase of negotiations with this consortium on the conditions for its future activity, naturally hand in hand with Russian enterprises on the Far East island—activity which will help to resolve the problem of delivering energy resources to Sakhalin and to certain Far East regions, and questions of developing the social infrastructure. And which will also be channeled into generating additional hard currency resources from the sale of some of the raw material in Asian and Pacific Basin countries.

Another important question on the business timetable of the Russian premier's visit to the United States was partnership in space exploration with the aid of commercial launches of artificial Earth satellites and interplanetary stations. After the first two sessions of the Russian-U.S. intergovernmental commission for cooperation in the sphere of power engineering and space—created in line with the Vancouver accord between Presidents Boris Yeltsin and Bill Clinton—two documents emerged. The first records Russia's intention to join the international control arrangements governing the export of missile technologies and equipment and alludes to the mutual understanding between the Russian Federation and the United States on this delicate question. After all, raising this question earlier, the Bill Clinton administration managed in August to effectively scupper the contract for the sale by Russia of cryogenic rocket engine components and the passing of the corresponding know-how to India. And to this day, despite the claims of individual newspapers, the furor which erupted after Moscow's repudiation under strong Washington pressure of this deal, which promised Russia several million dollars in profit, has by no means "almost evaporated." However you look at it, the reputation of our country as one that fulfills commitments undertaken at the highest state level has been badly tarnished a result of this. Even the Russian premier's belated assurances that there will be no change in the way we will supply rocket engines to Delhi (?) will hardly salvage this reputation.

The second document—on the international trade in the sphere of commercial services for space launches—secures for Moscow, or at least promises to open for Moscow the door to, the international high-technology space exploration market. This could bring it impressive hard currency revenues. If, of course, Western, including U.S., corporations in competititon with Russia's "stellar" institutes and plants in the world "space rink"—do not try to sabotage this agreement.

Unfortunately, so far it is not known what sums Russia can rely on from the fulfillment of this agreement. Evidently, this is still a secret which it would be both interesting and useful to know. If only in order to answer the question: Will they compensate for losses from the breakdown of the missile contract with India?

Of course, V. Chernomyrdin's visit to the United States left other questions undecided. For instance, on the barriers in the way of bilateral trade, which Washington is in no hurry to remove. Or on the export of cheap Russian uranium. However, this is understandable: The economic and political interests of Russia and the United States are by no means one and the same. The Americans have no intention of renouncing the sometimes all-out defense of their positions over the ocean. Neither for the sake of their Western allies, nor for the sake of Russia's limping democracy.

Nevertheless, the Russian premier's economic diplomacy in the United States has justified itself. This is confirmed by the package of concluded agreements that he brought back with him to Moscow.

Grachev Previews Visit to U.S.

LD0709052193 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0420 GMT 7 Sep 93

[Text] Russian Federation Defense Minister Pavel Sergeyevich Grachev begins his visit to the United States on 8 September. The day before the visit I interviewed General Pavel Grachev.

[Begin recording] [Announcer] What is the program and purpose of this visit?

[Grachev] This is a return visit. During this visit Mr. Aspin and I will sign one document on our further, as it were, probable cooperation in the military sphere and we will identify practical steps in line with the documents we have already signed. It is likely that I will also meet the President. We will exchange opinions on the military and political situation, primarily that on the European continent, of course, and on the Asian continent—a situation which is of priority concern for Russia and the United States. Third, I will acquaint myself with some of the U.S. Armed Forces, their combat readiness, and compare it with ours. If I find something useful, I may introduce it into the Russian Armed Forces.

[Announcer] Thank you. [end recording]

U.S. To Grant $85 Million for Nuclear Disarmament

LD0309205693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1930 GMT 3 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Arkadiy Sidoruk]

[Text] Washington September 3 TASS—Russian Minister for Nuclear Power Engineering Viktor Mikhaylov and U.S. Deputy Defence Minister for Political Issues Frank Wisner signed an agreement on Thursday [2 September] on U.S. granting Russia 85 million dollars in aid for carrying out nuclear disarmament and exercising control over nuclear materials used for peaceful purposes.

The funds will be provided within the framework of the Nunn-Lugar draft bill from allocations of the American military department totally worth 800 million dollars and intended for providing aid to newly independent states of the former Soviet Union in the elimination of thousands of nuclear warheads and the storage of nuclear materials.

The Pentagon's statement circulated in the American capital, says that these agreements are a considerable step forward in Russo-American cooperation aimed at the elimination of nuclear weapons in the former Soviet Union posing no danger to the environment and prevention of the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

One of the signed documents envisages granting 75 million dollars for the purchase of equipment and training technical personnel of a facility expected to be established in Russia for the storage of nuclear fuel obtained from dismantled weapons.

Another agreement provides for the allocation of 10 million dollars in technical aid to Russia to modernize the system of control, estimation and storage of nuclear materials used for peaceful purposes.

Agreement Signed on U.S. Help in Arms Destruction

PM0609084193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Sep 93 p 3

[Gennadiy Khromov report: "Deliveries Starting?"]

[Text] A few days ago the Russian Federation Committee for the Defense Sectors of Industry and the U.S. Department of Defense signed an agreement on cooperation on the elimination of strategic offensive weapons.

Under this agreement the United States will give Russia free assistance by delivering the equipment needed for the "speediest, safe, and environmentally reliable elimination" of ICBM's and submarine-launched ballistic missiles and their launch vehicles, as well as heavy bombers—that is, the very weapons which should be reduced in considerable quantities in line with the 1991 START Treaty. The total vale of this equipment will be $130 million (including the cost of shipment, the secondment of Russian specialists, and so forth).

We have reached agreement with the Americans on the delivery of around 200 special tank cars to transport liquid rocket propellant (there is currently no other way to renew tank car stocks owing to a shortage of funds and the breakdown of production sharing with the Ukrainian plants which used to produce them), and of several different sets of various cutting apparatus (mechanical, gas, and plasma) to break up the decommissioned submarines, missiles, launch vehicles, and heavy bombers. In the overwhelming majority of cases the arms to be destroyed will be those whose "service life" has come to an end.

During the talks a great deal of attention was paid to the selection of equipment which will allow us as far as possible to resolve the environmental problems of eliminating strategic offensive weapons. In particular, delivery of special mobile installations able to burn liquid rocket propellant without any harmful discharges was agreed.

These shipments will make it easier for Russia to carry out the tasks facing it. Without this help it would be hard for us to fulfill our commitments under the START Treaty. In political terms the agreement contains no discriminatory provisions. During the talks that preceded the signing of the document, the Americans officially assured the Russian side that in the event of any disputes arising, such disputes would be resolved on the basis of equal rights.

So there is no obstacle to implementing the agreement reached between Russia and the United States. We will be receiving the first consignments of U.S. equipment in six months' time.

U.S. To Help Build Houses for Former Servicemen

LD0509210193 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1910 GMT 5 Sep 93

[Text] On the 14th of this month the town of Tula, 200km south of Moscow, will be the venue for a ceremony of laying the foundation stone in the village where 460 houses will be built for Russian ex-servicemen. The project is carried out by the United States Government with the middleman services from the agency of foreign international development.

Army officers demobilized after April 1993 in the wake of the withdrawal of the Russian Army from the Baltic states and countries of the Commonwealth will get their lodgings, and first settlers can appear in Tula, Nizhniy Novgorod, Novosibirsk, Lipetsk, and Volgograd as soon as next summer. Ex-servicemen will also receive training to help them reintegrate into civil life.

The project is part of the package of U.S. aid to Russia signed by Presidents Yeltsin and Clinton in Vancouver last April.

Commentary on U.S. Defense Plan

LD0309122993 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1710 GMT 2 Sep 93

[Commentary by Vladislav Kozyakov]

[Text] The Pentagon on Wednesday [2 September] unveiled a five-year defense plan. This commentary is by our news analyst Vladislav Kozyakov.

It took Washington more than four months to produce the plan, which should determine U.S. military policy after the ending of the Cold War. The plan was awaited not only in the United States, but in other countries, too. Moscow is also finalizing a new military doctrine and so it is interesting to know how the U.S. Administration sees its national defense in the new conditions of the world. Military planning in the United States and Russia seems to coincide in some respects. Reportedly, Washington would like to see its Armed Forces more mobile, flexible, and readily adaptable than its capability today. The weaponry can be less numerous but it should be more hi-tech. The military leaders in Moscow are discussing a largely similar approach.

Yet, on the whole, the just released data about the new U.S. military policy causes an impression that the oversized military machine will be made leaner at a rather slow pace; the Americans have noted that themselves. The Pentagon expects to close more military bases at home and abroad than earlier planned. But still its plans look insufficient. An expert at Georgetown University, Lauren (Thompson) says we will need much faster and much bigger base closures.

One can also question the Pentagon proposals about strategic armaments, such as building the third Sea Wolf submarine, and further work to create the Stealth bomber. These armaments were devised for a global military confrontation. Are these first nuclear strike weapons now needed? Generally speaking, the strategic military mentality in the United States is well behind the drastic changes worldwide. The new threats posed now to U.S. security and related to local conflicts or to the spread of weapons of mass destruction, cannot be compared in any way with the Sword of Damocles that was hanging over the United States and the rest of the world during the years of the Cold War. So, it is hardly justifiable to maintain a rather large military machine as proposed by the Pentagon. The very concept of the American military policy to fight wars on two fronts as pledged by the Defense Department does not look modern. The fact that there is no more East-West confrontation, and there are good relations between Russia and the United States, makes it possible now it seems to take bold far-reaching steps and to convert military funds and resources to civilian use. That is feasible considering the fact that there are more realistic joint measures now by many countries to cope with the local threats to the security of any particular nation.

MIA Commission To Continue Work

MK0309084093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 48, 3 Sep 93 (Signed to Press 2 Sep) p 1

[Vladimir Abarinov report: "MIA Commission Decides To Extend Its Term"]

[Text] The Russian-U.S. commission to clear up the fate of U.S. army servicemen reported missing in action held its regular session in Moscow, whereupon cochairs Dmitriy Volkogonov and Malcolm Toon organized a press conference. The main piece of news the journalists were treated to is that the commission intends to continue its work. The commission considers the question of U.S. war prisoners closed and is now concentrating its efforts on the events of the Korean and Vietnamese wars, but here, too, the results are close to zero. Dmitriy Volkogonov confirmed the authenticity of the so-called Vietnamese document (a report by then-GRU chief General Ivashutin, whose authenticity the Vietnamese authorities deny), though the general did admit that the data contained in it may not be quite accurate. According to a Russian member of the commission, the Americans insisted that the commission continue its work in order to justify the budget allocated to them—17 million rubles.

Drop in Number of Tourists Viewed

MK0309160793 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 3 Sep 93 p 6

[Mikhail Kolesnichenko report: "American Tourists Shun Russia for Fear of Uncertainty"]

[Excerpt] Growing crime, political instability, and economic crisis have combined to bring down drastically the number of Americans wishing to travel to Russia. This worrisome conclusion was drawn by Caroline Cavaly, president of the New York based Russian Travel Bureau as she assessed the performance of her agency over the past two years. She noted that her company, which maintains long-standing business ties with the former USSR, is currently in dire financial straits because the percentage of those wishing to visit Russia has tumbled to a 10-year low.

"In the good old days, when the Soviet Union still existed, Western tourists tried to sneak through the 'iron curtain' to see the 'evil empire' with their own eyes," Mrs. Cavaly says. "Now there is no longer a boom, and Americans prefer to travel to other countries of the world where they do not expect to meet the unexpected."

The president of the Russian Travel Bureau pointed out that many Americans are afraid of unpleasant adventures because of crime, particularly following increased attacks on foreigners.

"When people consider traveling to Russia, they immediately begin discussing political instability, banditry, and, of course, bad weather," Mrs. Cavaly remarked.

At the same time, the tourist agency chief admitted that it is not only Russia's domestic situation that makes Americans stay home.

"In the past two years the United States has experienced a precipitous economic decline," she said. "This is why before thinking about traveling they first look inside their pockets. In order to attract clients we have even drastically cut prices for our services. For instance, a one-week trip to Moscow or St. Petersburg, including air fares and hotel accommodation, will cost an American tourist only $777. If the situation does not improve after this unbelievable price cut, our prospects will not look very bright."

Dmitriy Yershov, representative of the Russian "Intourist" company in New York, holds a slightly different opinion. According to him, there is no serious reason to press the panic button.

"Those travelling to Russia more often than not are Americans who are well aware of what is going on in our country," he said. "The growing crime rate and political instability scare tourists away, but interest in Russia remains as high as ever." [passage omitted]

Foreign Ministry Supports Further Talks on Bosnia

LD0309172393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1212 GMT 3 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Sergey Ryabikin and Sergey Staroselskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 3 Sep—Moscow regrets that it has not been possible to reach a final result in the latest round of talks in Geneva on settling the Bosnian crisis, Grigoriy Karasin, director of the information and press department of the Foreign Ministry said at a briefing today. He stressed that this is even more distressing since the sides were nearer than ever to reaching a compromise.

"We are not inclined to dramatize the situation that has evolved," the Foreign ministry representative noted. "The potential for arriving at a Bosnian settlement through talks is by no means exhausted. One should not forget that during this round of talks the sides as a whole affirmed their adherence to the package of understandings that already exist. It is to be hoped that all the sides will display maximum restraint, sticking firmly to the understandings that have been reached. Any actions which might thwart the peace settlement are inadmissible."

Grigoriy Karasin expressed the hope that all the sides will make additional efforts to overcome their remaining differences.

He pointed out that increasingly frequent instances of armed provocation against personnel of the UN peacekeeping forces by Muslim and Croatian formations are giving rise to serious concern. "Russia considers it to be its duty to express a resolute protest against such actions. Any actions, including the use of arms, against the servicemen of the UN forces, no matter by whom and no matter for whatever motives, should not remain unanswered by the United Nations Organization, and demands the most resolute condemnation by the Security Council."

Russia "is ready to support the toughest resolution on the question of the safety of the UN peacekeeping forces at the forthcoming session of the General Assembly," Grigoriy Karasin said.

Additional Troops Not Planned for Yugoslavia

LD0409154093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1408 GMT 4 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS military observer Andrey Naryshkin]

[Text] Moscow, 4 Sep—"The Russian Defense Ministry does not plan to send additional military formations to the territory of the former Yugoslavia", Pavel Grachev, head of the ministry, stated today at a news conference.

In his turn Mikhail Kolesnikov, head of the General Staff of the Russian Federation Armed Forces, noted

that heads of the ministry do not see much sense in employing the Russian military transport planes in delivering humanitarian aid, since these planes have low efficiency, and will not give the results expected of them. He also said that the Russian military does not intend to participate in any operations carried out by the air forces of the NATO member states against one of the conflicting sides. Sending a Russian battalion as part of the UN peacekeeping forces to the former Yugoslavia is a sufficient contribution toward the Yugoslavian settlement.

Burbulis Visits Japan; To Discuss Territorial Issues

PM0609121193 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 4 Sep 93 p 5

[Nikolay Tsvetkov report: "Burbulis in Japan: What Else Is There To Talk About If Not the Kurils?"]

[Text] Tokyo—What is winning the Japanese over to us Russians is open-mindedness and the ability to look at a pretty time-worn subject in a non-hackneyed way. The territorial issue has to be tackled in the context of developing mutually beneficial relations and in the light of the interests of the population of the South Kurils—this is approximately what Gennadiy Burbulis said during an interview given to Japanese television on the eve of his visit to Japan. Fresh thinking, is it not? It may even foster hope in some people that that this accursed question may be settled. If, of course, wise and fair experts tackle the task.

Gennadiy Burbulis arrived in Tokyo 2 September. And was received the very next day by the top official in the Japanese administrative hierarchy—Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa.

Yes, he is a frequent visitor, but, as the Japanese mass media stress each time, he enjoys colossal influence at the top of Russian politics. Why else would the Japanese Foreign Ministry go to the trouble of inviting him in the runup to the expected top-level visit? The Japanese welcome was not cooled down even by the clear statement by Boris Yeltsin's press service immediately prior to Burbulis' departure that the president had instructed no one save the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry to discuss problems concerning the preparation for his visit to Japan.

As far as Gennadiy Eduardovich himself is concerned, you won't have heard him denying the huge political potential ascribed to him by the shrewd Japanese. On the contrary, you will have heard him on television dropping hints that the forces represented (or headed?) by him in Moscow are seeking rapid progress in Russian-Japanese relations, as well as making statements that the Russian premier's recent remarks concerning the fate of the Kurils are no more than "Mr. Chernomyrdin's personal viewpoint."

You can understand the Japanese. They do, of course, find it more convenient to think that this is the way things are. And they are, of course, filled with a sense of gratitude toward their open-minded visitor who summons up the political courage to speak out against the conservatives who still exist in Russia, although Burbulis' statements are far more evasive than, for example, the words of Vice Premier Poltoranin, who visited Japan in August last year and was at the time a far more official figure. He, you will recall, made lavish promises to his Japanese audience, saying that to solve the territorial issue you only had to study a mechanism for tranferring the disputed islands, for which purpose he left for Okinawa (the Okinawa Archipelago was under U.S. jurisdiction 1945-1972).

As Gennadiy Burbulis' itinerary is kept secret, we have no way of determining whether it includes the Okinawa Prefecture. Presumably not, as his itinerary was drawn up by the Japanese Foreign Ministry, which is financed out of the state budget, rather than by the rich Asahi concern, which received Poltoranin. Gennadiy Burbulis is unlikely to be taken farther than the ancient capital of Kyoto.

Receives Message for Yeltsin

LD0309124193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1214 GMT 3 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Vyacheslav Bantin, Vasiliy Golovnin]

[Text] Tokyo September 3 TASS—Japanese Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa on Friday [3 September] addressed a personal message to Russian President Boris Yeltsin. He conveyed the message to Gennadiy Burbulis, president of the international humanitarian and political sciences centre "Strategy", now staying in Tokyo. Burbulis said this to ITAR-TASS upon the conclusion of his meeting with the Japanese premier.

He said that the message had formulated "an integral concept of the development of Russo-Japanese relations". First of all, it indicates that Russia and Japan play an important role in forming a climate in the international community.

The prime minister stressed that there are no insurmountable problems between the two countries at present. "This attest to a novelty in the stand of the Japanese governments which consists of the quest for a realistic and at the same time innovatory approach to bilateral relations", Burbulis said. He said the prime minister had expressed the conviction that the territorial issue between the two countries can be consistently and constructively resolved with taking into account historic factors and present-day interests of the peoples of Russia and Japan.

Third, the message indicates that political leadership of both countries is now engaged in reforms, Burbulis said. This gives confidence and enhances mutual understanding.

Burbulis noted that he made the trip as a public leader and that he had no instructions from the Russian president. Nevertheless, he said that upon his return to Moscow he will have a meeting with Yeltsin and will tell him of the results of the stay in Japan.

Views Territorial Issues

PM0309140393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Sep 93 First Edition p 3

[Sergey Agafonov report: "Burbulis' Private Visit a Major Surprise for Tokyo Observers"]

[Text] Tokyo—Gennadiy Burbulis, former Russian state secretary, has arrived for a 10-day visit to Tokyo at the invitation of the Japanese side.

The visit is no surprise—it was announced long ago, and in an interview for the Japanese mass media back at the end of June Gennadiy Eduardovich himself spelled out the aims of the visit quite clearly. He said then that he intended to go to Tokyo in September to prepare Yeltsin's official visit to Japan, noted that he intended to discuss the sensitive territorial question with the Japanese side and work for progress toward its settlement in the talks with the new Japanese government, and stated with confidence that his Japanese tour will be effective in resolving the bilateral problems that exist.

This advance notice in June is now being recalled in Tokyo with a special interest deepened by the fact that neither effectiveness nor particular progress were the distinguishing features of the Russian-Japanese consultations held on the eve of Burbulis' arrival at deputy foreign minister level when all the aforementioned problems were examined in detail. Against that background the Japanese speculation about the Russian Foreign Ministry's limited potential for influencing the decision-making process in the Kremlin is increasing almost to the level of confidence that this is the case, and it is no wonder that right from day one of the visit the full honors due to Moscow's "eminence grise" were accorded to the former state secretary (incidentally, despite the complete absence of official regalia and posts he was for some reason greeted on arrival by the Russian ambassador in person).

It has to be said that Burbulis' first remarks for the Japanese press at the airport contributed to this effect—alighting from the aircraft steps, Gennadiy Eduardovich began by saying that he actually disavowed the recent statements by Russian Premier Chernomyrdin on territorial matters and stated that the head of the government's comments in the Kuril islands (in which it was said that the disputed islands are Russian territory and that there can be no talk of giving them back) are merely Chernomyrdin's personal viewpoint and that there are many viewpoints in Russia on the territorial question.

The Japanese reported this fact with satisfaction, but Burbulis' interpretation took even the Japanese side somewhat by surprise—after all, in addition to Chernomyrdin's words the Japanese press last Sunday carried an interview with Valentin Fedorov, first deputy economy minister and former governor of Sakhalin, from which it emerges that at a recent session the overwhelming majority of Russian cabinet members supported the prime minister's "Kurils stance" which consequently is no longer individual or personal but simply the government's position.

Government Backs Premier on Kuril Issue

MK0309094693 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 3 Sep 93 p 1

[Yuliy Lebedev report under "Details" rubric: "The Russian Federation Government Is Unanimous on the Kuril Problem. Information From a Secret Protocol"]

[Text] While the Russian president and parliament are actively and successfully exposing each other's criminal designs, the premier slowly but surely is scoring political popularity points and may soon become the sole guarantor of stability in our unstable society. Since August, Viktor Chernomyrdin has taken a number of steps contributing to the consolidation of his reputation as a patriot concerned about a strong state and an independent political figure.

Perhaps the most significant is his position on the Kuril issue. As is known, during his recent visit in August to the Far East, Chernomyrdin stated: "Russia is not going to give up the Kuril Islands to anyone. We do not need what does not belong to us, but what is ours will stay with us."

This principled approach is in sharp contrast to the vague and equivocal phrases usually pronounced by the president on the subject of the Kurils. It is worth noting that after Chernomyrdin's statements, Boris Yeltsin, offering an explanation, tried to disavow the premier's statement, presenting it as merely a personal opinion. According to Yeltsin, "This position is just one of many."

It needs to be noted, however, that in interpreting Viktor Chernomyrdin's words that way, the president was not quite correct, to put it mildly. The premier's opinion on the Kuril problem is supported by all members of the Council of Ministers presidium. This is evident from the secret minutes of the Russian Federation Government's 26 August session (the document bears the inscription "Not to be copied): "2. [as published] On the position of the presidium of the Council of Ministers—the Russian Federation Government (Chernomyrdin, Soskovets, Yarov, Shumeyko, Zaveryukha, Shakhray, Chubays, Fedorov, Kvasov, Gerashchenko, Shafrannik, Shapovalyants, Kokoshin).

"In view of the fact that recently there have been numerous statements by highly placed officials in Japan on the status of some islands in the Kuril chain, the presidium notes that the Russian Government intends in the future to promote general cooperation with all the countries in the Far East on a mutually beneficial basis and excludes any pressure from any quarter on the territorial issue." Nonetheless, Gennadiy Burbulis, former state secretary under the Russian president, described Chernomyrdin's statement on the territorial question as "reflecting the personal position of the speaker" and declared himself in favor of this problem being resolved on the basis of the principles of legality and justice.

Moscow Wants To Normalize Relations With Japan

PM0309113593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 1 Sep 93 p 3

[Pavel Vasilyev report: "No Change in Relations With Tokyo"]

[Text] People in Tokyo awaited with particular interest the arrival of Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Georgiy Kunadze to take part in the latest Russo-Japanese consultations 27-28 August.

The high-ranking Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman was unequivocal: There has been no change in Russian Federation policy toward Japan, and Moscow still wants to fully normalize relations with Tokyo. During a meeting with journalists, expressing satisfaction at the results of his conversations that "were of a purely working nature" and "considerably devoted to preparing to Boris Yeltsin's visit," Georgiy Kunadze explained: "We have not held any talks with Tokyo about handing over any islands to Japan either now or in the past." The problem is, the deputy minister added, that there is still no peace treaty between our countries—and we intend to sign such a treaty. "Sooner or later this will occur," he thinks, "and when the treaty is signed the problem of border demarcation between our two countries will also be resolved."

There is every indication that Tsutomu Hata, head of Japanese diplomacy, was also pleased with the discussion. He expressed the hope that Boris Yeltsin would be able to come to Tokyo in mid-October and urged that every effort to be made to ensure the success of the visit. The head of the Foreign Ministry also said that the incumbent Cabinet, like the former Liberal Democratic Party government, wants to fully normalize Russo-Japanese relations "by concluding a bilateral peace treaty once the problem of the 'northern territories' is resolved."

Attacks on Merchant Ships Viewed

PM0309105393 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 31 Aug 93 p 3

[Viktor Vinogradov "Rejoinder": "The Distorting Admiral"]

[Text] The recent attacks by unidentified pirates on Russian merchant ships in the East China Sea have been far from isolated instances. A worried Moscow has sent the Petropavlovsk, a large ASW ship, to that region with the task of protecting Russian freight carriers because piracy against them is causing considerable harm. Nothing extraordinary about that, you might think.

But you would be wrong! According to the Japanese naval department, things are not all that simple. Here is what Admiral T. Hayashizaki, Navy chief of staff, had to say on this matter: "Defense against attacks by unknown armed ships on civilian ships flying the Russian flag is essentially a pretext whereby Moscow is stressing that it has not lost its old positions and is continuing to play an active military role in the region's affairs."

That may well be, but describing the dispatch of a single warship, albeit a large ASW ship, as a "demonstration" of Russia's "dangerous military presence" in the region is, of course, nothing but distorting the facts. But people will do all sorts of things if it is in their own interests. There is no doubt that the Navy chief's comments are designed to illustrate in some way the general concept of Russia's military role in the Asia and Pacific region as elaborated by the Japan National Defense Agency and reflected in the government's recently adopted Defense White Paper. According to the latter, Russia's armed forces in the Far East add a "significant element of instability" to the situation in Asia and the Pacific although no specific evidence to that effect has been cited. Now there is this latest "gift"—the dispatch of a Russian ASW ship to the South Seas.

On the other hand, it is clearly necessary to take into account the desire of Japan's new coalition government to cut military spending. Thus the aim of the admiral's statement is to justify the need for the very opposite, in other words to maintain the military department's budget at the old level at the very least.

ROK Chief of Staff Talks With Grachev, Counterpart

LD0609085593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0834 GMT 6 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Gondusov]

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—Russian Defence Minister, Army General Pavel Grachev today met South Korean Chief of Staff General Yi Yang-ho who arrived in Moscow on Sunday [5 September].

The Russian minister expressed satisfaction with relations between the two countries which began to develop

after the Russian president's visit to the Republic of Korea last November. Pavel Grachev stressed that in order to make practical steps in the military field it was necessary to set up working groups in the two war ministries to plan events for next year and for the perspective.

General Yi Yang-ho noted that South Korea regarded Russia as a guarantor of stability in the Asian-Pacific region.

Also today the Korean military chief met the Russian Chief of Staff Colonel-General Mikhail Kolesnikov. The Korean general is also expected to address the cadets at the Academy of the Russian General Staff and visit the cosmonaut training centre.

Kunadze Comments on Relations With South Korea

LD0309132793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1212 GMT 3 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Zakharchenko]

[Text] Seoul September 3 TASS—Relations between Russia and South Korea are those "of friendly countries which share common interests and whose positions coincide in many aspects", Georgiy Kunadze, Russian deputy foreign minister, told ITAR-TASS on Friday [3 September], the final day of his unofficial trip to South Korea.

Summing up the results of the talks he held with representatives of the government and parliament of South Korea, Kunadze said: "Allegations that our relations [are] declining are groundless".

Thus he contradicted the mood of the South Korean media that has lately begun to speculate on "the end to the honeymoon between Moscow and Seoul" and "cold currents" which have allegedly appeared between them. Especially negative was the media's response last week to the report of the Russian state commission investigating the tragedy of the KAL-007 shot down by a Soviet fighter ten years ago.

However, the position of the Korean Government is free from affectation.

"The former Soviet Union used to be the closest political ally of North Korea", Hong Son-yong, South Korean deputy foreign minister, told ITAR-TASS. One can only imagine the advantages of a new Russian balanced policy towards the two states on the Korean peninsula, he said.

South Korea Seen Unlikely To Accept Arms for Debt

PM0309112193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Sep 93 First Edition p 3

[Aleksey Portanskiy report: "Seoul As Yet Unprepared for the Purchase of Russian Weapons"]

[Text] South Korea is unlikely to take advantage of Russia's offer to compensate for its debt by supplying weapons to the South Korean Army in the near future, a high-ranking staffer of the Seoul leadership has stated.

Following the setting up of diplomatic relations with the USSR in 1990, South Korea agreed to grant Moscow aid to the tune of $3 billion in cash and in the form of linked credits. In 1991-1992, $1.47 billion of this was granted.

During the visit to Seoul at the end of August by a delegation of our government headed by Vice Premier Aleksandr Shokhin, supplies of Russian weapons were offered to the South Korean side as a way of paying off the former USSR's debt. Commenting on Russia's proposal on his return to Moscow, A. Shokhin pointed out that despite, the mutual advantage in this deal, we should not count on the South Korean side's resolving this matter easily, given Seoul's close ties with Washington in the military-political sphere.

At present the South Korean Army's weaponry consists mainly of American military equipment. Apart from that there are 36,000 U.S. soldiers on the country's territory.

The weapons which Russia has offered South Korea are defensive and therefore would not upset stability in Southeast Asia and the Pacific region. However, it is hard to expect Washington to give Seoul the go-ahead to acquire Russian weapons. Despite the outward desire to support Russian reforms, the West has not yet voluntarily opened weapons markets to Russia anywhere.

As the South Korean press reports, during the bilateral talks coming up in the next few days, which will be led on the Russian side by Deputy Foreign Minister G. Kunadze, who has arrived in Seoul, South Korea will announce its decision to suspend the granting of credits promised to the former USSR because of the problem of the arrears on the money already granted. However, Russia's stance on the payment of the arrears to South Korea, as to other creditors, is to apply the principle of an equal attitude to all creditors enshrined in the spring agreement between Russia and the Paris Club on the deferral of payments of the former Union's debts.

DPRK Envoy Comments on Talks With U.S.

PM0609140393 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Sep 93 p 3

[Vladimir Potapov report: "Pyongyang's Dialogue With Washington Irritates Seoul"]

[Text] At a meeting with Russian journalists, Son Song-pil, DPRK ambassador in Moscow, spoke of the progress of the North Korean-U.S. talks currently being conducted. Two rounds of meetings have been held so far.

At the first stage, the ambassador said, the sides agreed that nuclear weapons must not be used, that the threat of their use must not be employed, and that strong-arm military methods should altogether be avoided. They

confirmed their mutual desire to maintain peace and security on the Korean peninsula, to turn it into a nuclear-free zone, and to respect sovereignty and the principle of noninterference in internal affairs. Washington and Pyongyang also advocated peaceful means of unifying Korea. A joint agreement was signed on the results of the first round of talks which laid the foundations for further contacts, which were soon embodied in the second series of talks devoted to specific study of every area of the agreement.

Naturally, attention focused on the nuclear problem. We know that Washington ignited passions over this: Originally by bringing nuclear weapons into the south of the peninsula and blackmailing Pyongyang with their possible use, and at the present stage of the development of the situation by misinforming the International Atomic Energy Agency [IAEA] and provoking officials from this international organ to carry out prejudiced and unfair actions in respect of the DPRK.

Naturally, the ambassador said, the republic's leadership has decided to ease the tension that has arisen by means of direct talks with the initiator of the "nuclear campaign." And, as we can see from the results achieved, the prospect of a civilized solution to this problem has taken shape.

However, judging by a series of recent statements issuing from Seoul, this development of events does not suit South Korea, which, it would seem, should be interested in the removal of tension in the nuclear issue. Deprived by Washington of the possibility of influencing its military nuclear policy in this region, Seoul, so Pyongyang believes, does not have the right to interfere in the Korean-U.S. talks on the nuclear problem. And particularly to make insinuations about Pyongyang and appeal for sanctions against it on the part of the United Nations and the world community. A strange impression is being created from the fact that a regime which claims to be civilized is demanding sanctions on farfetched pretexts—and not just against anyone, but against its own fellow countrymen, consanguineous Koreans, Son Song-pil stressed.

Proposal To Resume Inter-Korean Talks Welcomed

SK0409024793 Moscow Radio Moscow in Korean 1000 GMT 3 Sep 93

[Talk by station reporter Valeriy Surikov from the "Focus on Asia" program]

[Text] The DPRK expressed its willingness to resume talks with the ROK with an agenda of the nuclear safeguards issue on the Korean peninsula. According to the statement of a Pyongyang spokesman, the talks could discuss the matter of preparing for the high-level meeting between the North and the South.

The North-South high level talks had been in normal progress until early this year. The inter-Korean dialogue seemed very successful. However, the talks were ruptured because the United States and the ROK resumed the Team Spirit joint military exercise. Pyongyang withdrew from the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty [NPT] as a self-defensive measure, and stated that it did not intend to accept the international inspection of its military sites by the International Atomic Energy Agency [IAEA]. The situation began to aggravate again not only on the Korean peninsula but in the Asia-Pacific region as a whole.

Pyongyang then announced that it would tentatively suspend the validity of its withdrawal from the NPT. With this announcement, the tension began to alleviate in the situation to a degree. This is well proven by the meeting between the delegates of the DPRK and the IAEA. The DPRK also expressed its willingness to discuss the nuclear safeguards issue with the South authorities as well. This is also a development heading for the alleviation of tension. This is a step to be welcomed, for the improvement of relations between the DPRK and the ROK is unthinkable without the resumption of inter-Korean dialogue. Without inter-Korean dialogue, the nuclear safeguards issue—which has surfaced to be the most important issue—cannot be resolved. How the nuclear issue is settled will determine how the other disputed problems on the Korean peninsula are solved.

Seoul is also aware of the danger that will result from confrontation. Therefore, it has accepted very positively Pyongyang's proposal for sitting together for talks again. If inter-Korean dialogue resumes, it will promise a good opportunity to eliminate tensions on the Korean peninsula, bring a favorable impact on the talks between the DPRK and the IAEA, and promise a good result for the forthcoming third round of high-level talks between the United States and the DPRK.

Political Issues

Security Service Bars Rutskoy, Staff From Office

LD0609142993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1419 GMT 6 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—Russian Vice-President Alexandr Rutskoy and his staff were barred by the security service of the Russian president from entering their offices in the Kremlin on Monday [6 September], according to Russian lawmakers.

Representatives of eight parliamentary groups told reporters they had asked the prosecutor general to give a legal assessment of the action of the president and his aides.

Presidential spokesman Anatoliy Krasikov said that the main security service of the Russian president began to guard the offices of suspended Vice-President Alexandr Rutskoy and First Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeyko in order "to avert any manipulations with documents and in the interests of the investigation".

Rutskoy and Shumeyko were temporarily suspended from office until an investigation of their mutual charges of corruption is over.

Officials, 'Experts' View Rutskoy's Dismissal

PM0309135393 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 3 Sep 93 p 1

[Irina Goryunova article: "Help for the Investigation, Not a Verdict"]

[Text] "Boris Yeltsin has violated the Law on the President by removing from his post the person who was elected on the same ticket as himself," Aleksandr Rutskoy declared, emphasizing at the same time that he is not planning to take any counteractions to the edict on his temporary suspension from duty. Rutskoy then announced, however, that the president had "not only placed himself above the law and the constitution" but had also violated "political hygiene by combining the vice president and the first vice premier in the same edict."

In a statement made in connection with the edict "On the Temporary Suspension of A.V. Rutskoy and V.F. Shumeyko from the Fulfillment of Their Duties," Ruslan Khasbulatov proclaimed the illegal and unconstitutional nature of the edict and promised to repeal it at the Supreme Soviet session.

When asked by us: "Have any legal assessments or comments been made on the president's edict?", Sergey Obukhov, leader of the Constitutional Court Press Service, replied that under existing legislation the judges are refraining from making any comment at present and are studying the text of the edict. The Constitutional Court has received no new documents or suits connected with Vice President A. Rutskoy. The Constitutional Court intends to embark on a legal assessment of this document only after the edict has gone through the Supreme Soviet following its repeal. But a Constitutional Court expert believes (and there are grounds for considering this not the opinion of just one person) that the president exceeded his powers with that part of his edict which speaks of Rutskoy. Constitutional Court Member Viktor Luchin has remarked that Rutskoy or his representative can dispute this edict in the Constitutional Court. Most likely, on Friday the Supreme Soviet will confirm its petition to the Constitutional Court on the question of defending the vice president's status.

The hastily made statements by parliamentary leaders, by Russian Communist Party Chairman G. Zyuganov, by "Civic Union" leader V. Lipitskiy, and by other "legal experts" about the president's promised "vigorous actions" and about the unconstitutional nature and legal illiteracy of the edict have been refuted by Vyacheslav Kostikov, press secretary to the Russian Federation president. He drew attention to the fact that Yeltsin's edict was "adopted within the bounds of the president's competence on the basis of Article 8 of the law 'On the RSFSR President,' which provides for the possibility of removing officials and executive organs of power from the fulfillment of their duties, guided by Point 17 of Article 121-5 of the Russian Federation Constitution, until the completion of an investigation into instances of abuse of their official position."

So it is not a question of removal from a post—with which attempts are being made to charge the president and his "entourage"—but of temporary suspension from official duties in full accordance with the law and in the name of complying with the law.

"The final resolution of the question depends exclusively on the results of the investigation and then on the court examination," Vyacheslav Kostikov emphasized.

Rutskoy Visits Moscow Prosecutor's Office

PM0309133993 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 1 Sep 93 p 2

[Sergey Gusyakov report: "Rutskoy Explains Himself"]

[Text] As we have already reported (ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI No. 165, 27 August 1993), the Moscow City Prosecutor's Office has begun studying documents it has received from the Interdepartmental Commission for Combating Crime and Corruption concerning Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy's connection with Account No. 622999 M in the Swiss Bank Indosuez.

Last Monday [30 August], at the invitation of Moscow City Prosecutor Gennadiy Ponomarev, A.V. Rutskoy visited the Moscow Prosecutor's Office. He spent around four hours explaining himself in connection with the Interdepartmental Commission material that has come into the investigators' hands. Four staffers from the

investigation department, tasked with checking out the documents to establish the vice president's connection with instances of corruption, took part in the conversation with him. But the fact that most of the documents are in English and German and it is extremely hard to ensure an accurate, qualified translation of the texts indicates that this will not be their last conversation. This time Aleksandr Rutskoy left the Moscow prosecutor's office escorted by his own guard.

According to Vladimir Goncharov, the Moscow city prosecutor's assistant, the investigation group has already finished sorting out and systematizing the Interdepartmental Commission for Combating Crime and Corruption material. Steps are being taken to obtain corresponding explanations from Dmitriy Yakubovskiy, who is currently in Canada.

He has been faxed the Moscow prosecutor's office telephone number, so that the time of his arrival to provide official testimony can be agreed. The editorial office learned that Dmitriy Yakubovskiy responded immediately: That same evening he spoke by telephone with a representative of the investigation group and they discussed the possibility of his visiting Moscow and of his personal safety being guaranteed.

The investigators have also come up with questions for members of the Interdepartmental Commission, who gave the prosecutor's office the documents on A.V. Rutskoy. They will also be summoned "in order to receive explanations on matters arising." Vladimir Goncharov justified the need for these steps by saying that "it is necessary to establish the authenticity of the primary sources of the copies of the documents handed to the prosecutor's office." What is more, the editorial office has obtained confidential information that the prosecutor's office has sent Andrey Makarov a letter demanding that he provide all the documents pertaining to the "Rutskoy case" (if the Interdepartmental Commission still has them at its disposal). Presumably, in order to rule out more surprise clashes during the future inquiry.

Rutskoy Corruption Investigation Continues

LD0309172993 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1400 GMT 3 Sep 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] It is now 10 days since the interdepartmental commission on the fight against corruption handed to the Moscow procuracy materials on the link between Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy and a Swiss bank account. Our special correspondent was told this by Andrey Ilyushenko, chief of the Russian presidential administration's control directorate.

[Begin Ilyushenko recording] First of all, I have to say that our commission's work is continuing. Indeed, it is now 10 days since we handed over materials to the Moscow procuracy, and I think that a decision will be made today in accordance with the norms of criminal legislation. But today we are worried not by this, since I think that the Moscow procuracy's decision will be based on law.

What worries us is this: We have received information that, with the aid of the relatively famous Mr. Bernstein, false documents are being prepared with the aim of casting doubt on the documents we have given to the procuracy and generally totally discrediting our commission's work.

I think this is simply unacceptable, since such actions are simply restricted by the Russian Federation Criminal Code. That's the first thing.

Second, there are serious reasons to believe that titanic efforts are now being made to destroy the original copy of the trust agreement which Andrey Makarov spoke about, which is linked with Vice President Rutskoy. According to our information, this is taking place in the [name indistinct] bank in Switzerland.

At the same time, we have information that financial documents concerning the activities of the Revival Foundation are continuing to be destroyed—I stress that this is continuing, not just beginning—both here in Moscow and in its branches in the provinces. [end recording]

Firm Linked to Rutskoy Faces Criminal Proceedings

LD0609141793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1406 GMT 6 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS— The Moscow Prosecutor's Office initiated criminal proceedings against officials of the "Agrokhim" concern for illegal transfer of state finances to an account of a joint venture created with the "Seabeco" Company.

The latter was mentioned by a special commission of the Russian Security Council probing charges of corruption among top officials as being connected with Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy.

However, the Prosecutor's Office said on Monday that it will take time to check the preliminary conclusions about criminal actions of the suspects. In case they are confirmed the officials will face criminal charges.

The Prosecutor's Office also refused to institute criminal proceedings in conncetion with the statement of Andrey Makarov, head of the commission probing corruption charges, who accused Russian Prosecutor-General Valentin Stepankov and former adviser of the Interior Ministry Dmitriy Yakubovskiy of conspiring an attempt on his life.

The Prosecutor's Office said that the tape recording of a telephone conversation between Stepankov and

Yakubovskiy, submitted by Makarov, contains no information about the plot. Checks conducted by the Prosecutor's Office show that neither Stepankov nor Yakubovskiy "had undertaken actions which could speak about the preparation of an assassination", it added.

Official Denies Drafting Document Implicating Rutskoy

LD0409105493 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0700 GMT 4 Sep 93

[Text] Aleksandr Kotenkov, the chief of the Russian president's state legal administration, has categorically denied the accusations levelled against him in the Parliamentary Hour program, that it was allegedly he who drafted the familiar document bearing the signature of the Russian vice president. In an interview with a correspondent of the newspaper KURANTY, he acknowledged that that material evidence needed verification. It may turn out that Rutskoy's signature is really forged, but even if that is so, I have nothing in the least to do with it, Aleksandr Kotenkov stressed.

He considers that the opposition is too hasty to stick labels on those against whom as yet unsubstantiated accusations have been made. The president scrupulously studies all the documents before making a decision on the resignation of any of the persons accused of corruption and other crimes, Kotenkov pointed out.

Rutskoy Removal Seen Marking Start of 'September Battle'

PM0309135793 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 3 Sep 93 p 1

[Andrey Podkopalov article: "Fall. Time To Burn Boats?"]

[Text] The September battle announced by the president seems to have begun. A. Rutskoy has been the first target of attack. According to the scheme of the strategists in B. Yeltsin's entourage, the sacrifice of a vice premier in order to capture the vice president knocks out the opponent's strongest piece.

Nevertheless, knowing the fighting qualities of the vice president and of his friends in parliament, you can predict that the president's dashing cavalry charge (he does not have powers—this means he is without juridical status) will turn into a protracted and bloody battle.

There will be loud statements by people's deputies about the unconstitutional nature of Yeltsin's edict, appeals to the Constitutional Court, and noisy opposition rallies. The chief counterweapon will probably be the thesis of the involvement of world imperialism—in the form of Western special services—in the shaping of the "Rutskoy affair." People loyal to the vice president are already talking at the top of their voice about the "Western conspiracy" factor.

The parallel use of a means of defense by the name of "Who are the judges?" is likely. This means throwing another handful of mud at political opponents—R. Khasbulatov could be a new source of compromising material (it has long been said that the cunning speaker is saving his own "briefcases" for dessert). We also should not forget the strange stand taken by the disgraced V. Barannikov, who after a long silence suddenly leaked to the press his "Letter to the President," in which he accuses "ultraradicals," mafiosi officials, and Western special services of bringing about his resignation. This message can only be described as a warning and a concealed form of blackmail. If this can of worms is also opened, the consequences will be unpredictable.

But the president's team is certain to have scrupulously calculated all possible options and has the means to neutralize likely complications. Yeltsin's plan is as clear as it can be: Having knocked out the opponent's key pieces, to mount an offensive against parliament from two flanks—through the Constitutional Conference and the Federation Council. The protocol on the creation of the Federation Council, as S. Filatov has declared, will be signed as early as next week.

The question of the legality of all these measures remains a stumbling block. For whereas the present constitution allows the corps of deputies to carry out a coup d'etat with juridical blamelessness (for example, by making an amendment to the constitution with regard to abolishing the presidency), it does not allow the president to take even a step to one side without the consent of the Supreme Soviet and the Congress. From the legal viewpoint the situation is hopeless for Yeltsin, and it remains to wait for him to openly and finally refuse to comply with the present constitutional norms. A referendum on a transitional constitutional law and a law on elections could serve as a bridge across the legal gulf.

But it will take time both for the Constitutional Conference to draw up draft laws and to hold a referendum—in any case, there clearly is not time before the November Congress of People's Deputies. For the deputies the Congress is the last, decisive one. Either they seek Yeltsin's removal (by means of impeachment or the abolition of the actual post of president) or they become persona non grata as a consequence of the upcoming reelection of the corps of deputies. Clearly, under these conditions they will go to the end.

In this case support for one side or the other by the components of the Federation will play the decisive role. At present, to all appearances, Yeltsin is succeeding in the game with regional leaders. But there are no guarantees that the newborn boyars' duma (the Federation Council) will not develop a taste for this and call the new czar one fine day.

There is an obvious split in the democrats' camp. Some of them are forming some kind of "centrist" coalition and discussing possible candidates for the presidency (to replace Yeltsin, whose useful life, in their opinion, is

over). The new "centrists" include such well-known figures as G. Popov, G. Yavlinskiy, Yu. Boldyrev, and V. Sheynis.

On the other hand, all is in order on the other flank. The opposition and parliament have merged into a single organism. People who were once enemies—Khasbulatov, V. Isakov, S. Baburin, N. Pavlov—are showing the world touching unanimity and mutual understanding. Practically all the legislative proposals of the latter people receive the speaker's ardent support. The opposition press, which pretty well put Ruslan Imranovich's back up in the past, now carries friendly advice and calls him nothing but "esteemed...."

The danger lies in the fact that the period of political struggle in the relatively decorous parliamentary form seems to have ended. The bloody May Day and the nature of the summer exposes in the top echelons of power have brought the political debate down not even to street level but to the level of criminal "fisticuffs." Bullets now fly both into a minister's office and into a deputy's home. And yet this is just "softening-up salvoes."

Spokesman Explains Why Shumeyko Asked To Be Suspended

PM0309123993 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 2 Sep 93 p 1

[Statement by Grigoriy Bukhvalov, press secretary to First Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeyko: "Suspended for a Short Time So As To Seek the Truth"]

[Text] In connection with the Russian Federation president's edict of 1 September 1993 "On the Temporary Suspension From Their Duties of A.V. Rutskoy and V.F. Shumeyko" I deem it necessary to make the following statement:

In respect of Vladimir Shumeyko, first deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government, this edict was adopted by the president at the request of Shumeyko himself, since his involvement in the investigation into matters connected with the charge of corruption against top officials requires a considerable investment of time and effort, and the first vice premier today coordinates questions of information and cadre support for the reform, cooperation with political parties, public organizations, movements, and religious associations, small and medium business, education, science, culture, and sport and works with the corresponding ministries and departments. All this, not counting the very acute political problems and current affairs, requires tremendous time and effort.

It should particularly be emphasized that the suspension really is of a temporary nature and should not be linked to the rumors being spread by certain top officials of the existence of some criminal case against V. Shumeyko. According to letter No. 18/123569-93 of 18 August this year from the General Prosecutor's Office, "no such criminal case exists."

Thus, it is a question of fulfilling a civic duty—assisting the investigation. I would like to remind you in this connection that not one of the accusations leveled at him by A. Rutskoy has been confirmed—this is well known today to the general prosecutor, to his deputy, who took the role of state prosecutor in the Supreme Soviet, and to the vice president.

Of course, Shumeyko does not intend to disregard the groundless accusations, for which he is obliged to Rutskoy, Makarov, the deputies who addressed this "famous" session, and also the mass media which were zealously fulfilling a social imperative. On Monday 30 August the first complaint relating to protection of honor and dignity was sent to Moscow's Leninskiy Rayon Court, and under this the court must demand a public apology from the vice president and the payment of material compensation (which will be used for the construction of schools and children's establishments). Analogous complaints against Rutskoy's "coauthors" will be sent in the very near future.

I hope that all these questions will be examined quite soon and that the first vice premier will be able to return to the execution of his duties.

Procurator's Office Questions Poltoranin

LD0609105593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1004 GMT 6 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Ivanova]

[Text] Moscow, 6 Sep—[Federal Information Center Director] Mikhail Poltoranin testified to Boris Isayenko, senior investigator at the Russian Federation procurator's office, for over three and a half hours today. He told journalists afterwards that no charges had been brought against him and that he had been summoned only as a witness. He said the discussion centered on the "Berlin building".

In reply to a question from an ITAR-TASS correspondent, Poltoranin said he did not regard the summons to the procurator's office as political pressure. He commented, however, that the bosses were certainly putting pressure on the senior investigator.

"The special hot line telephone rang several times while our conversation was under way," he said. Poltoranin also reported that the investigator had issued an instruction obliging him to inform the procurator's office of his official trips. He also announced his intention to hire a lawyer.

Prosecutor's Office Examines Corruption Documents

PM0609102193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Sep 93 First Edition p 2

[Sergey Mostovshchikov report: "Moscow Prosecutor Intends To Decide by Monday Whether Papers Received From Andrey Makarov Contain Evidence of Crime"]

[Text] Moscow Prosecutor Gennadiy Ponomarev has not yet finally determined whether elements of crime are contained in documents received from the commission which has examined cases of corruption among the state's top officials. But the prosecutor intends to make a final decision by this Monday [6 September].

A four-man team is examining the "Makarov" commission's documents at the Moscow Prosecutor's Office. According to Ponomarev, they are doing this extremely intensively. Ponomarev does not agree with the claims that the papers received by him were easy to obtain and could have been found by anybody who wanted to. First, the documents' contents clearly indicate that they had been the target of thorough and professional hunt and, second, it is not yet absolutely clear whether they are of any use in putting certain state leaders into the category of criminals.

The Prosecutor's Office may be able to finally make up its mind on this question after Friday [3 September] and the coming weekend. For the time being it is busy collecting additional information. In particular, last Monday [30 August] Ponomarev's subordinates tried to invite Dmitriy Yakubovskiy, who knows a lot but who lives abroad, to Moscow for an interview. The same Monday Yakubovskiy called the prosecutor back and declined the invitation. He said that he would speak to Ponomarev's men only outside his native country.

It was then decided to contact Yakubovskiy, whom the Moscow prosecutor calls "the main exposer," by fax. He was sent specific questions, some of which he failed to answer. The Prosecutor's Office faxed Yakubovskiy again and hopes that he will send it more convincing communications.

"Rosagrokhim" leader Nikolay Olshanskiy, whose name and signature feature in the documents being examined, was also invited for an interview on 3 September. Although Olshanskiy was on vacation he was found, and he agreed to appear at the Prosecutor's Office.

When asked in what capacity Yakubovskiy and Olshanskiy are being summoned, Ponomarev replied: as citizens. At least until the question of the possibility of instituting criminal proceedings has been decided.

Trial of Coup Plotters Resumes in Moscow

Lukyanov Interviewed

LD0309143393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1410 GMT 3 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Anna Melnikova]

[Text] Moscow September 3 TASS—The coup plotters trial is to resume in the Russian Supreme Court on September 7. On the eve of the court session, Anatoliy Lukyanov, former chairman of the Supreme Soviet (parliament) of the Soviet Union, in an ITAR-TASS interview, stated his comrades' resolve "not to forgo principles" and "insist on challenging the state prosecutors who are subordinated to Prosecutor-General Valentin Stepankov."

It must be recalled that this demand was put forward by the defendants at the very first sessions of the Supreme Court. The reasons they gave for their statement were that Stepankov as the co-author of the book entitled "The Kremlin Plot" had violated the basic principles of investigation procedure by making public his stand before the proceedings are completed".

On June 3, this year, the Russian parliament, in response to an application by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court, stated that to support the state prosecution in law-court is exclusively within the competence of the office of the prosecutor-general". Thereby the question of no-confidence in Stepankov was removed from the agenda.

Lukyanov said the state of health of Aleksandr Tizyakov, former president of the Association of State-Run Enterprises and Industrial, Construction, Transport and Communication Facilities, due to the illness of whom the court examination had been postponed, remains unsatisfactory.

In view of this, the defendants intend to ask the court to single out Tizyakov case and examine its separately. In this connection Lukyanov emphasised that "as a lawyer" he has no complaints about the conduct of court sessions: "The trial is being conducted tactfully, in a reserved manner, and with the observance of the letter of the law."

On behalf of his comrades, the defendant expressed hope for the earliest completion of the trial.

Yielding to the temptation to make political evaluations, Lukyanov stated once again that "in August 1991 there was neither a coup, a putsch, nor a conspiracy, but actions were taken in defence of the constitutional system and the preservation of the Soviet Union".

Trial Previewed

LD0609130993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1210 GMT 6 Sep 93

[By CRIME-PRESS correspondent Nikolay SEMENENKO]

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS— The trial of the State Emergency Committee members will resume, as scheduled, at 10:00 on September 7, Viktor Pavlenok, public relations officer of the military division of the Russian Supreme Court, said in an interview with CRIME-PRESS on Monday.

According to information available to CRIME-PRESS, the accused, their lawyers, state prosecutors and other participants in the trial are ready to resume hearings. Aleksandr Tizyakov who is now hospitalised in the city of Yekaterinburg (Urals) is the only exception.

In the opinion of doctors, he cannot participate in hearings for health reasons. An appropriate conclusion by medics was handed over to the military division of the court.

Specialists believe that the court can suspend hearings against Tizyakov due to his lengthy illness which has already caused a two- month interval in the trial. The court will try other participants in the abortive coup, and Tizyakov will be tried later when he recuperates. Such a chance is provided for by Article 257 of the Russian Penal Code.

If the court finds it possible to continue hearings without Tizyakov, the military division's next step should be a ruling on whether to reject state prosecutors. It will be remembered that the accused and their lawyers objected against all the prosecutors at the initial stage of the trial.

In turn, the military division established dependence of state prosecutors on Procurator-General Valentin Stepankov in its decision of May 18, 1993. Stepankov and his deputy Yevgeniy Lisov published the book "Kremlin Plot: Investigation's Version" before the start of hearings.

Therefore, they became personally interested in the outcome of the trial. Legal experts believe that the court should take "an unusual ruling" under the present circumstances.

Case Against Tizyakov Suspended

LD0709103493 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 7 Sep 93

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The resumption in Moscow of the trial of the leaders and brains behind the August 1991 coup is undoubtedly the most important event of this morning. [passage omitted] Here is a report from the Russian Supreme Court by our special correspondent, Andrey Krasnov:

[Krasnov] The SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency] trial opened in the Russian Supreme Court at precisely 1000. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Let me add to that report by Andrey Krasnov—a report which we have only just received. The court has issued an order suspending proceedings against Aleksandr Tizyakov until he has recovered. At the same time, the court decided to continue its consideration of the case against the other defendants.

Reasons for Barannikov Dismissal Analyzed

PM0709104593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 Sep 93 First Edition p 2

[Commentary by Aleksandr Mozgovoy: "Last Man of the First Team Has His Say"]

[Text] The appearance in the press of a letter addressed to the president from Viktor Barannikov, who was dismissed from the post of security minister just over one month ago, has attracted entirely understandable attention. Above all, because the reasons that prompted Boris Yeltsin to remove a "power" ministry leader from his position were simply not formulated by the head of the executive with any kind of clarity. And the disgraced Victor Pavlovich has categorically refused to meet journalists to put forward his view of what happened.

In my view, the reflections of the former minister on the forces that compelled the president to dismiss a leader of the security organs who was getting in his way are highly interesting.

Thus, in first place Viktor Barannikov puts the "ultraradicals" who expected unconditional support from the Ministry of Security for their policy aimed at "decisive actions." The ex-minister does not clarify precisely what "decisive actions" were expected, or to be more exact, demanded of him. But it is not hard to guess—along the lines of the May Day "measures" of Moscow City Hall, which would have pushed the country toward civil war.

Next in line are the "bureaucratic-mafioso" structures, which have considerable political protection, for whom the Ministry of Security "had become extremely inconvenient, since it had begun to consistently place barriers in the way of their fabulous enrichment and robbery of the people."

Third in Barannikov's list are those "who simply do not wish to see a strong federal system of state security in Russia." Above all foreign organizations and special services, whose actions the Russian counterintelligence thwarts.

Nor could Barannikov bypass the question of the tragic incident on the Tajik-Afghan border, which allegedly served as the pretext for his dismissal. "It is a torment to me," he writes. "It is with pain that I think over what happened there. And not because the assessment of

this tragedy hastily brought to you—more precisely, the assessment of the actions of the border troops—provokes any doubt. The border troops and the organs of state security did everything possible and executed a complex program elaborated in the Security Council precisely and in a very short space of time." In Barannikov's opinion, the border troops are combat effective, but only in the form in which border troops should be combat effective. This allowed servicemen in unthinkable conditions to do what they did: join in unequal combat, but defend the border at the cost of their own lives.

In connection with this incident, Barannikov draws attention to the fact that the Russian Ministry of Defense did not fulfill the decision of the Security Council, for the attack on the detachment was an Army action, and not that of a bunch of bandits. The 201st division essentially did not secure the possibility of repulsing the armed aggressor. "I am not defending myself, but the honor of the border troops, the honor of heroes who laid down their lives," Barannikov stresses.

The former minister did not dwell in detail on the subject of his violation of "ethical standards": "As a professional, I prefer to conduct the conversation only in the language of the Law. I acknowledge only its supremacy—whether people like this or not. This is why I do not intend to comment on rumors, conjecture, and slander."

There is, however, another important topic in Barannikov's letter that throws light on what happened. It is the thread which runs through the entire missive to the president. This is the need for the organs of security to adhere strictly to constitutional legality: "We have formed not just a new state institution—the Ministry of Security—but a federal system of security on which the president, the government, and parliament, and every individual Russian citizen could rely to an equal degree," but "this is possible only on the condition of absolute noninterference of the security organs in politics."

It would appear that it is this principle above all else that is not to the president's liking, believing as he does that the "power" ministries are only the blind agents of his will. It is no accident that figures currently in Yeltsin's entourage have repeatedly accused Barannikov of "sitting between two stools" and "playing for the other side." But the security minister simply obeyed the requirements of the Constitution and the law. For him, all the branches of power are equal in value and in law, and important.

By an ironical twist of fate the security minister found himself the last man of the first Yeltsin cabinet of reforms to be obliged by his or someone else's will to break with the president. Other people have come in his stead—those who, in Barannikov's words, "are introducing elements of intolerance and confrontation in our society, using bombastic pseudodemocratic phrases to cover up perfectly obvious political, and, increasingly today, mercantile, interests..." "Believe me," he remarks, appealing to the president, "to satisfy these interests they will betray you too." At the same time "they are gambling not only with the political card, but the interests of Russia."

Meanwhile, the witches' sabbath organized by the new counselors around the president is continuing. Now they send him on a march in double time through the Moscow garrisons in the hope of winning servicemen over to the side of those campaigning for "decisive actions"; now they make him sign an edict which he knows to be unconstitutional on "the temporary removal from the performance of his functions" of the vice president. The feverish steps of the head of the executive, at odds with common sense, more and more look like death throes, the results of which are unpredictable for the Russian people.

Moscow Mayor Rumored as Security Minister Candidate

PM0309171393 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Sep 93 p 2

[Yuriy Makhrin report: "Luzhkov for Security Minister?"]

[Text] The editorial office has learned from trustworthy sources that Yuriy Luzhkov is being named by the president's entourage as the number one candidate for the post of Russian Federation security minister. Evidently Yeltsin has a high opinion of the Moscow mayor's efforts to suppress the peaceful demonstrations on May Day and the demonstrations by the war veterans on 23 February 1992.

Filatov, head of the president's administration, recently said that the candidate for the post of head of the Russian Federation Security Ministry might be very unexpected. No sensible people saw Luzhkov as Viktor Barannikov's successor. Yet rumor has it...

Presidential Apparatus Said Restructured

MK0409091693 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 4 Sep 93 p 5

[Yekaterina Deynego report under "Draft Regulations on Presidential Council" rubric: "Boris Yeltsin Decides To Streamline the Work of the Presidential Council"]

[Text] Yesterday the Russian president's apparatus finalized draft regulations on the working groups under the Presidential Council. Under this document, members of the Presidential Council will be able officially, on a contractual basis, to invite specialists from Russian and foreign expert institutions to work out materials on political and economic questions. In addition, according to preliminary reports, sessions of the Presidential Council will now be held on a fixed schedule.

Recently almost all structures of the Russian president's administration have been undergoing constant reorganizations, with the most intensive ones occurring in analytical subdivisions. In the opinion of a majority of experts, these processes are related to the fact that in Russia there is not yet a general concept for the presidency as an institution. The task of the current leadership is not to copy western models but to create an adapted structure of supreme executive power corresponding to the Russian image of statehood.

Experience, however, shows that each subsequent transformation, as a rule, involves the appointment of a new official. One of the shining examples of the role of personality in carrying out such reorganizations is the constant revision of the concept of the presidential advisers' functions. Originally, when the president's administration was put into place, it was expected that the advisers would provide the president and his administration with analytical materials. However, after State Secretary Gennadiy Burbulis, who directed this structure, was removed from his post, the entire concept of analytical work by advisers was sharply revised. They no longer have their own staff of "analysts" but serve merely as intermediaries in inviting experts from Russian or Western institutes to work on particular problems. Intending to let them develop their own ideas, the presidential administration has carried out a new division of analytical centers (the center on general policy is led by Anatoliy Rakitov; the center on special presidential programs is led by Nikolay Malyshev; and the center on social and economic programs is headed by Petr Filippov).

Nonetheless, today many Russian experts agree that another analytical structure—the Presidential Council or, rather, its new composition—is acquiring special significance in the president's eyes. According to Presidential Council member Georgiy Satarov, this body's activity has been raised to a new qualitative level. From now on work in the council is not limited to expressing one's point of view on a particular problem during spontaneous sessions. For several months now (so far unofficially) the group on regional and ethnic problems—which includes Leonid Smirnyagin, head of the laboratory of political geography under the Russian Academy of Sciences, and Emil Pain, head of the Gorbachev Foundation's Center on Interethnic Problems—has been preparing reports on the situation in the "hot spots" of the former USSR. In addition, Yegor Gaydar heads another group.

Satarov believes that the regulations on the working groups under the Presidential Council will consolidate the existing system of the groups' work. In addressing each particular problem, the composition of the groups will be renewed. These small but mobile creative collectives are called upon to help the president react promptly to events and resolve difficulties that arise as well as to calculate political strategy.

Strange at it may be, the process of streamlining the Presidential Council is proceeding at the same time as similar upheavals in the analytical structure of his political rival, Ruslan Khasbulatov. Here, too, there is a scientific council under the chairman of the Supreme Soviet where special groups are created to provide in-depth analysis of various problems—industrial policy, finance and banking, and political science subdivisions. Apparently, the need for a qualified council, based on a professional analysis of the country's political situation, will increase among the leaders of both the legislative and executive branches of government.

Committee Appeals for 'General Political Strike'

PM0309140193 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Sep 93 p 1

[Own Information report: "Slogan of the Moment: General Political Strike"]

[Text] The Public Committee for the Defense of the Constitution and the Russian Federation Constitutional System has appealed "to all labor collectives, trade union organizations, parties, movements, and citizens who cherish their homeland's future" to "start preparing for a general strike, to be staged at the end of October."

The appeal notes that "the incumbent leadership of the state, primarily the president and the government, is incapable of extricating the country from the national crisis and is only aggravating it. The deliberate destruction of the mighty economic complex, as well as the economic foundation of the state, is continuing. Mafia clans and the intermediary bourgeoisie, in conjunction with the bureaucratic apparatus, are plundering public property and natural wealth in an unprecedented way ..."

The public committee stressed that "the president has confirmed his bankruptcy by failing to carry out most of the duties and promises that he has made to the people... Russia is increasingly losing sovereignty and territorial integrity."

Having exhausted other ways of defending the Russian Federation Constitution, Russia's independence, and the interests of most of the country's population, the Public Committee for the Defense of the Constitution and the Constitutional System "deems it necessary to resort to a general political strike."

FITUR Calls For Countrywide 'Day of Protest' 17 Sep

PM0609153593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Sep 93 p 4

["Own Information" ITAR-TASS report under the "Chronicle" rubric: "All-Russia Day of Protest"]

[Text] The Coordinating Committee for Collective Actions of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia [FITUR] has expressed its intention to hold a

day of protest 17 September in order to demand reelections of all branches of power. The committee's recommendations do not contain an appeal to go on strike throughout Russia: Every labor collective is free to choose its own form of protest—rallies, pickets, or temporary work stoppages—or to take no action at all.

The instigators of the day of protest are the trade unions from industry's defense sectors. "We think it necessary to let the legislative and executive branches know that we do not intend to further resign ourselves to the breakup of the defense industry and the national economy as a whole," Anatoliy Breusov, chairman of the association of defense sector trade unions, stated.

At the Coordinating Committee session, the defense industry workers' initiative was supported by representatives of trade union centers of workers in the coal, medical, chemical, agroindustrial complex, budget-funded, and a number of other sectors.

Trade Unions Call For Elections

LD0309215693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1415 GMT 3 Sep 93

[Text] Moscow, 3 Sep (ITAR-TASS)—The press service of the Russian Council of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions [FITUR] reports that leaders of industrial and regional trade union associations have met with Yuriy Voronin, first vice chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet. They call on Parliament to adopt a decision on holding simultaneous elections to all branches of authority.

During their speeches the union leaders talked about the extremely difficult position of working Russians in connection with the Russian Government's failure to implement the general and industrial wage agreements, the violation of the indexation procedure, and the many months of not receiving salaries.

In his speech, Yuriy Voronin agreed with the trade union leaders that the accumulation of these negative phenomena could indeed lead to a social explosion.

Skokov, Others Create 'Accord for Fatherland' Committee

MK0409072593 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 Sep 93 p 1

[Yevgeniy Krasnikov report under "Perspective" rubric: "Accord for Fatherland. Yuriy Skokov Returns to Big Time Politics"]

[Text] This is expected to be publicly announced on 7 September at a press conference that Skokov intends to organize for journalists for the first time after a long break. The press conference will hear an announcement about the creation of a public committee, Accord for the Fatherland [Soglasiye Radi Otechestva], and an appeal to the peoples and citizens of Russia outlining the committee's basic principles of activity.

The newly created committee—it was registered a few weeks ago—has already been joined by political leaders of various orientations: Former Russian Federation Minister Nikolay Fedorov (committee chairman); Ramazan Abdulatipov, chairman of the Council of Nationalities of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet; Lyudmila Vartazarova, chairperson of the Socialist Workers Party; Russian Television and Radio Company Director Oleg Poptsov; Dmitriy Rogozin, chairman of the Congress of Russian Communities; Yuriy Skokov, chairman of the Center on Interregional and Interethnic Economic Problems; Viktor Stepanov, chairman of the Karelian Supreme Soviet; Russian Democratic Party leader Nikolay Travkin; and Russian deputies Yevgeniy Kozhokin and Vyacheslav Polosin. Yegor Yakovlev was expected to be among the committee members but he changed his mind at the last moment.

According to information from reliable sources, the initiative to create the Accord for Fatherland committee belongs to Yuriy Skokov, the leader of two influential structures: the Federation of Russian Commodity Producers and the Center on Interregional and Interethnic Economic Problems. Work to form the committee began in summer. At that time a meeting of leaders of various parties and public associations decided to organize a new structure that should rise above political bias and rely on all Russian citizens and peoples.

Just how intensive the preparatory work has been can be judged by the fact that the text of the appeal was revised five times. The committee's immediate aim is to prepare for the Assembly of Peoples and Citizens of Russia, where it is planned to set up a powerful civic movement. It is expected that the figure capable of uniting parties, movements, trade unions, entrepreneurs, and industrialists of various orientations will be Yuriy Skokov, who in the near future may become one of the new leaders of the political center.

In contrast to Aleksandr Rutskoy, who also found himself out of grace following his refusal to cosign the president's edict on enacting a "special rule of government", until recently Skokov preferred to keep a low profile and refrain from direct antipresidential statements. Having sacrificed his political charisma, Skokov has kept his political reputation unblemished.

It is quite probable that after all more or less well known Russian statesmen have been tarnished from top to bottom, Yuriy Vladimirovich Skokov will enter the arena of political struggle in a spotlessly white suit.

Parties, Movements Prepare for Elections

LD0609125593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1110 GMT 6 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS analyst Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—Russia's salvation will come from its entrepreneurs, leader of the movement "Entrepreneurs for a New Russia" Konstantin

Zatulin said recently. This view is probably shared by most of the influential business people in the country.

Hot on the steps of the Russian president who began his autumn offensive, entrepreneurs are rallying their ranks ahead of the forthcoming general elections. For instance, former secretary of the Russian National Security Council Yuriy Skokov, who is now the head of Russia's Federation of Commodity Producers, has announced that the creation of an inter-regional public committee "Concord for the Sake of Motherland" would be proclaimed on September 7. It is already known that Yuriy Skokov has succeeded in attracting prominent politicians of different orientations, including the leaders of the Democratic Party of Russia Nikolay Travkin and the Socialist Party of Labour Lyudmila Vartazarova, former Justice Minister Nikolay Fyodorov and chairman of the Chamber of Nationalities of the Russian Supreme Soviet Ramazan Abdulatipov. Judging from the number of influential politicians, the new committee "Concord for the Sake of Motherland" has every chance to outweigh the centrist bloc of the Civic Union. It is only fair to say that a new bright celestial body has appeared on the pre-election firmament.

As before the lodestar of Yegor Gaydar, who is now president of the All-Russia Association of Privatised and Private Enterprises bringing together 2,000 major and small firms, is shining brightly. It is only natural to expect Yegor Gaydar, who is also chairman of the executive committee of the "Russia's Choice" movement, to try and attract private owners to back his political bloc allies and rally them as supporters in the election campaign.

Another constellation, which includes such bright names as Arkadiy Volskiy, the leader of the Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs of Russia, Konstantin Zatulin, coordinator of the association "Entrepreneurs for New Russia", Alexandr Vladislavlev, chairman of the union "Renewal", Pavel Bunich, head of the recently established political party "Democratic Initiative" and Konstantin Borovoy, co-chairman of the Economic Freedom Party, is surely going to mount stiff competition in the race against "pure politicians". As a rule, the latter share Vice-President Alexandr Rutskoy's well-wishing stance; "It would be good, if everything were just fine".

In contrast to well-wishers, entrepreneurs know quite well just what they want: They are active in promoting new laws to boost market reforms, lobbying the parliament and the government to secure greater support for entrepreneurs, and are good at charity, which naturally pleases many voters.

Yavlinskiy Most Trusted Leader in August Poll

MK0409084993 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 Sep 93 p 3

[Unattributed POSTFACTUM report, special to NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, under "Russia" rubric: "In the Marathon for the 'President- 2' Title, a New Leader Is Possible—Grigoriy Yavlinskiy. But the Finish Line Is Still a Long Way Off"]

[Text] On 14 August 1,024 Russian citizens—residents of the country's major cities—responded to the following question asked by the Public Opinion Foundation: "To what extent do you trust political leaders?" The results proved unexpected both for the Public Opinion Foundation itself and for the Russian establishment. According to the poll, Grigoriy Yavlinksiy took first place, and even. . . surpassed Boris Yeltsin (second place), Aleksandr Rutskoy (third), and Sergey Shakhray (fourth). True, out of the seven leading politicians mentioned by the respondents, Ruslan Khasbulatov—whose rating, according to other opinion polls, rose dramatically in August—was omitted for some reason. Apparently the authors of the poll, in making up their list, expected to identify a personality who could be a real candidate for the presidency in the near future.

The answers provided to the questions from the Public Opinion Foundation are as follows:

"Trust": G. Yavlinskiy—33 percent; B. Yeltsin—25 percent; A. Rutskoy—21 percent; S. Shakhray and Y. Gaydar—19 percent.

"Do not trust": G. Yavlinskiy—20 percent; S. Shakhray—33 percent; A. Rutskoy—40 percent; B. Yeltsin and Y. Gaydar—44 percent.

"Equally trust and distrust": G. Yavlinskiy—18 percent; B. Yeltsin—19 percent; A. Rutskoy—20 percent.

"Do not know": G. Yavlinskiy—29 percent; A. Rutskoy—19 percent; B. Yeltsin—12 percent.

Furthermore, according to poll results, G. Yavlinsky has become the sole political leader to score a positive balance (+13 percent) after the positive and negative answers were added up.

According to POSTFACTUM experts, the results obtained point to several interesting conclusions:

1. The poll's results confirm that trust in the current Russian authorities is minimal. This is hardly surprising considering the sweeping charges of corruption. The presidential team has, alas, in less than 4 months irrevocably wasted the mandate of trust in representatives of the executive branch confirmed by the Russian people in the April referendum.

2. In the mass consciousness of Russian society, integrity, honesty, and a real business-like character among politicians are still a scarce commodity. Those who venture to take part in the upcoming lengthy marathon for the presidential post will have to take this into account.

3. Finally, the personality of G. Yavlinskiy himself, who has basically distanced himself from the present structures of the executive branch. The young economist's

departure from the Ivan Silayev government for reasons of principle, the rejection of his 500 Days program for getting out of the crisis—all this is still alive in the memory of many, in spite of a number of political upheavals and storms that have shaken our society to its foundations.

4. However, by far the most important thing prompting the majority of respondents to express their trust in G. Yavlinsky is a happy combination in his programs of political and economic ideas about revitalizing the country and a comprehensive vision of the future not only for Russia but for the entire economic and political space of the CIS—especially since these ideas have already been successfully tested and are beginning to be applied in a formerly economically backward region of Russia (the Nizhegorodskaya initiative). Finally, yet another important factor for the future: The wish and ability of a specific personality to answer for his socio-economic ideas and to implement them in practice. This quality may prove decisive in the upcoming lengthy Russian marathon for the post of president.

It will be a really lengthy marathon because B. Yeltsin and A. Rutskoy have not yet completely exhausted their charisma among certain social groups. In response to the question from the Public Opinion Foundation: "Who do you envision as Russia's president," the first to be mentioned was B. Yeltsin, followed by A. Rutskoy and, only third, G. Yavlinskiy. In a word, here is yet another purely Russian phenomenon: We trust Grigoriy Yavlinksiy but we prefer to see Boris Yeltsin as president. For the time being....

Poll on Corruption, Presidential Candidates

LD0509201193

[Editorial Report] Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian at 1800 GMT on 5 September, in its regular "Itogi" news program, broadcasts a 5-minute report by presenter Yevgeniy Kiselev on an opinion poll on views of corruption.

The first part of the poll was broadcast in the "Itogi" program on 29 August and presented the results of a public opinion fund poll on popular views of corruption in the higher echelons of power. This week "Itogi" presenter Yevgeniy Kiselev presents the results of a second poll taken after lawyer Andrey Makarov made public his revelations about Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy's involvement with Swiss bank accounts.

Last week, 56 percent of those polled found it hard to say who was most convincing on the subject of corruption, or they trusted no one at all; this week, the figure is 50 per cent. Last week 15 percent believed Rutskoy; this week, 18 percent. Last week 11 percent believed lawyer Makarov, this week the figure is 13 percent. Kiselev says that the percentage of those who believed Procurator General Stepankov fell from 11 to 10 percent. The publication of Makarov's documents confirming the allegations against Rutskoy has therefore not much changed the public view of the existing accounts of corruption among the top echelons of power in Russia. The poll shows that following Makarov's television appearance, 36 percent of those polled have not not changed their attitude toward Rutskoy; 7 percent said that Rutskoy has even gone up in their opinion; 16 percent said Rutskoy has gone down in their opinion; Kiselev says that the most interesting fact is that 41 percent of those polled had not even bothered to watch Makarov's appearance.

A public opinion fund poll on possible candidates for the post of President of Russia reveals that the corruption revelations did no damage to Rutskoy's chances: Rutskoy is still in second place with 12 percent of those polled voting for him; Yeltsin polled 19 percent as the favorite candidate for next president; Grigoriy Yavlinskiy came in third place with 7 percent.

Asked which Russian politician people trusted, 33 percent put Grigoriy Yavlinskiy in top place; Yeltsin is second with 25 percent, and Rutskoy is in third place with 21 percent.

The public opinion fund checked the results with a second poll, and obtained virtually the same results. Another poll has demonstrated that Grigoriy Yavlinskiy's bloc of Entrepreneurs for a New Russia has displaced the Democratic Russia Movement in second place in the list of parties, blocs and movements which voters would vote for today if elections to the Russian Parliament were to be held, Civic Union remains in top place.

Reflecting on the conclusions to be drawn from these polls, Kiselev says: "In the first place, the attempts by the president's supporters to take advantage of such clamorous and hard-to-prove accusations of corruption against one of the president's chief rivals, Vice President Rutskoy, among others, will evidently yield no results, though the president's supporters do assert that in putting forward these denunciatory facts, they do not aim to use them as a weapon in the political struggle. However that may be, it seems that, while the struggle is being waged against Rutskoy, it is Grigoriy Yavlinskiy who is turning into Yeltsin's main political rival. Well-informed people among the presidential entourage indicate that Yeltsin is not yet ready to agree to pre-term presidential elections. But it is not ruled out that sooner or later, such a possibility will be a vital necessity. And here the question arises: Might it not already be too late?"

DPR Commissions Poll on Election Prospects

MK0709095193 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 49, 7 Sep 93 (Signed to Press 6 Sep) p 2

[Dmitriy Kuznets report under "Sociology" rubric: "Russia Is an Apolitical Country. Voters Wait for the Creation of a 'Presidential Party'"]

[Text] In June and July this year, when the prospect of speedy early elections appeared quite real, the Central Public Opinion Research Institute undertook a poll commissioned by the Democratic Party of Russia [DPR] (the Travkin party) concerning the DPR's chances, as well as the chances of other parties and their leaders, in the struggle for deputies' mandates and the presidency.

Voters from 19 Russian regions in their absolute majority have proven to be "outside the political process." More than 40 percent of the respondents could not choose from 27 political leaders a single one "amenable" to them, with 17 percent saying that they trust nobody. When these people were asked how they would vote should presidential elections be held suddenly, more than 50 percent said they did not know.

That half of the Russian people who still trust someone and would perhaps even be willing to come to the polls are still resolving the old "Yeltsin-Rutskoy" dilemma.

The president will be a consolidating figure for the entire democratic electorate. When it comes to voting, the democratic voter will transfer his support for members of the presidential team to their boss. Therefore only 1.8 percent are ready to vote for Shakhray, who is trusted by 11.2 percent, and merely 0.8 percent for Chernomyrdin, with an 11 percent confidence rating. In the context of elections, democratic leaders are still viewed by the electorate as associates and like-minded colleagues of the "chief democrat" and not as independent political figures.

Opposition voters are not as united in choosing their candidate. The most marginal part of the respondents are not going to cast their votes for Rutskoy, preferring instead a National Salvation Front leader.

And yet Yeltsin and Rutskoy have left their immediate rivals far behind. Some 15 percent of the respondents are ready to vote for the president and 11 percent for the vice president. Tuleyev, a runner-up, gets only 4 percent. Moreover, his "success" could be attributed to the fact that the sample included too many residents from Kemerovo Oblast where he is chairman of the oblast soviet and enjoys considerable popularity.

Nikolay Travkin, the man who commissioned the poll, stayed in 11th place, with merely 0.8 percent of the vote. This result is apparently related to the fact that Travkin and Rutskoy are supported by the "same type" of voter from the same social strata.

Travkin's party—the DPR—enjoys a somewhat better situation. According to the poll, it is one of the most well known (only Zhirinovskiy's Liberal Democratic Party and Rutskoy's People's Party of Free Russia [PPFR] are more conspicuous) and the best supported (after the PPFR). True, its popularity is negligible, just like that of other parties, and therefore its support in percentages is not very large—the DPR, just like the PPFR, will barely be able to overcome the three-percent barrier that is to be introduced under a new election law. Other parties and movements cannot hope to do even that. They can only look for ways of forming new blocs. So far this bloc formation practice has been ineffective; it does not add any new votes to Civic Union parties. The support enjoyed by Civic Union is equal to the total number of votes received by each party separately.

Apparently sensing this, Travkin and Rutskoy's followers have recently begun to move apart. The DPR is reproaching its former allies for an excessive tilt toward the "intransigents" from the National Salvation Front. The results of the poll suggest, however, that the Travkin electorate itself can be referred to as "moderates" only at a large stretch: Russians supporting the DPR the most consistently have turned out to be just as consistent opponents of the president/government's course.

By acceding to the new coalition led by Yuriy Skokov, the party will not disappoint its expectations and will perhaps even improve its position: Nikolay Ilyich's personal charisma will be supplemented by Yuriy Vladimirovich's authority.

A "presidential" party, if one is ever organized, could bring about real changes in the popularity rating. So far 15 percent of the respondents are ready to vote for this would-be organization—approximately as much as its opponents have a chance of getting now. The appearance of this party in elections, according to the poll results, will encourage many citizens who are now indifferent to politics to go to the polling stations.

Muscovites Polled on Corruption Charges

MK0709081693 Moscow MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS in Russian 5 Sep 93 p 1

[Oleg Savelyev report: "'Corruption' Is a Foreign Word. In Russia People Are Not Punished for It"]

[Text] On 3 September 1993 the Moscow division of the Central Public Opinion Research Institute (Komkon-2) held an express poll of approximately 1,000 residents in the capital. The distribution of answers to the questions concerning Muscovites' attitudes to reciprocal charges of corruption is shown in percentages.

"Do you think the charges of corruption and misappropriation of state property leveled against Shumeyko, Poltoranin, and other government members are incontrovertible, plausible, unsubstantiated, or slanderous?"

Incontrovertible	6
Plausible	24
Unsubstantiated	26
Slander	11
Do not know	33

"And what about the charges against Rutskoy and Stepashov?"

Incontrovertible	5

Plausible	33
Unsubstantiated	21
Slander	11
Do not know	30

"Do you think that as a result of investigation those guilty will be punished or will evade liability?"

Will be punished for the most part	17
Will evade responsibility for the most part	65
Do not know	18

Economic Issues

Coal Miners Conduct Warning Strike Throughout Russia

Strike Threatened Over Tariff Agreement

MK0309120593 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 3 Sep 93 p 3

[Irina Belova report under "Trade Unions on Collective Actions" rubric: "Strikes Will Begin on 6 September"]

[Text] The executive committee of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia [FITUR] decided yesterday to hold a conference of coordinating committees of regional and branch trade unions on 28 September to approve a plan for a fall offensive by the trade unions. The leaders of a number of branch trade unions, however, declared the intention of their industries to join the strike action campaign much earlier—a general preventive strike by the coal miners is scheduled for 6 September.

Anatoliy Breusov, chairman of the Association of Trade Unions of Defense Industries, told the executive committee session that he is concerned that the defense sector could "collapse" before the set date and therefore its employees intend to hold their first protest action on 17 September. At a press conference held after the executive committee session, Vitaliy Budko, chairman of the Coal Miners' Union, said that starting midnight on 6 September, the entire industry will hold a 24-hour preventive strike, halting all work and the shipment of products. The reason for the strike is the government's failure to observe the terms of the industrial tariff agreement whereby annual state subsidies to the coal miners should amount to 74 billion rubles—this includes miners' wages and the provision of social benefits—approved by the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of the Economy and provided for in the budget. Nonetheless, by the beginning of September the miners had received only half the July billions [as published] and that was even after the sixth plenary session of the coal miners union announced on 12 August that it was calling a strike. According to the strike committee, 80 percent of coal producing associations are ready to take part in the strike.

In a conversation with KOMMERSANT-DAILY's correspondent, Vitaliy Budko expressed his bewilderment over the fact that the tariff agreement is still not being implemented even though all the top officials have recognized the validity of the miners' claims. Nonetheless, the strike, being an extreme measure, will be of a purely economic character. "We are strictly keeping our distance, without interfering in the disputes between the rightists or the leftists and are working with the government, and we intend to work with it in the future," Budko stated.

The executive committee session showed that a majority of trade union leaders hold such views. They do not wish to be involved in the political struggle and are making only economic demands. But when it gets down to "those who are to blame for the deplorable condition of the working people," the trade unions want blood. They cite the names of Vladimir Shumeyko, Anatoliy Chubays, Boris Fedorov, Andrey Kozyrev—his foreign policy is allegedly leading to job losses—and Aleksandr Shokhin. This list will be enclosed with FITUR's demands.

Strike Previewed

PM0309122793 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 2 Sep 93 p 2

[Feliks Babitskiy report: "Price of Strike"]

[Text] Between 70 and 80 percent of labor collectives in the coal sector intend to participate in the all-Russia strike scheduled for 6 September. ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI has been told this by Ivan Mokhnachuk, deputy chairman of the Independent Coal Industry Workers Trade Union. It is noteworthy that in the Pechora coal field the action is being prepared through the joint efforts of not only this trade union, which belongs to the FITUR [Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia], but also the local branch of the Independent Miners Trade Union, which traditionally supports reforms and opposes the FITUR, as well as several regional independent trade unions like the trade union of the "Vorgashorskaya" Mine. The unity among all the worker organizations is accounted for both by the local Independent Miners Trade Union's financial independence of its central leadership and by the material and domestic distress common to all miners, regardless of their trade union membership. It is no coincidence that, in addition to the trade union demand—common to all regions—to the government not to violate the General Tariff Agreement, the northern miners have advanced another, to parliament, to adopt a law on the northern territories.

Well, the Supreme Soviet will hardly miss an opportunity to earn additional political capital. Although it has little chance of resolving even this problem before 6

September. As for violations of the General Tariff Agreement, the trade unions blame the government for liberalizing the prices of energy sources, whereas literally all the points of the agreement were built on the premise that prices would remain firm. Now a big disappointment awaits the trade unions. Of course, they can do considerable harm to the treasury by their "fall offensive" and even shake the government. But they will not succeed in stopping fuel prices from increasing even with such strong measures as a national strike. The whole trouble is that today nobody can secure monopoly control of the energy sources market. Nor can the government—which is, in fact, why it resorted to liberalization.

It is, however, hard to imagine that the trade union bosses do not guess this. They must do! It is just that their role is to defend the working people's interests. Ministers have their own, no less important role as reformers and saviors of the Russian economy. Well, the roles have been distributed, and the action is scheduled for 6 September. Will we not all have to pay too high a price for the upcoming show?

Kuzbass Miners Reject Strike Call

PM0609142193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Sep 93 First Edition p 2

[Viktor Kostyukovskiy report: "Kuzbass Workers' Movement Activists Do Not Support Strike Call"]

[Text] Kemerovo—The Independent Miners Union [IMU] and the Council of Workers' Committees of the Kuzbass have held a joint session to examine the situation in the coal sector. This was also done in connection with the call by the Independent Union of Coal Industry Workers—which, unlike the IMU, incidentally belongs to the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia—for an indefinite strike to begin 6 September.

The statement by the IMU and the Council of Workers' Committees of the Kuzbass notes that customers' nonpayment for coal which has been delivered, the 120-percent rise in rail charges, and the late receipt of state subsidies have left coal enterprises in a difficult economic position. "Although in name there is a government in Russia," the statement says, "its actions often arouse bewilderment: There is no clear program for the economic development of the country. The decrees and acts which are of significance for the coal sector's development contain either no mechanism for implementing them or one that exists only in the form of projects." The IMU and the Council of Workers' Committees believe that the freeing of coal prices concealed many ailments from which the sector has been suffering for a long time. They include the absence of a real owner at enterprises and the brake on the process of flotation. In addition, many leaders are trying to shift all the responsibility onto the government and the gravity of the situation onto the workers. Meanwhile all they are doing is waiting for the trade unions to "extract" fresh subsidies, credits, and resources from the government.

However, the statement goes on to note, using the difficulties of the transition to market relations to try to achieve aims which have nothing to do with the protection of working people is a mistake to say the very least. Consequently the IMU and the Council of Workers' Committees of the Kuzbass consider the strike call by the "state trade union" to be untimely and unacceptable in the present situation. The further destabilization of the economy will cause an escalation of political tension and lead to chaos.

Miners in Far East Strike

LD0609043193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0256 GMT 6 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Belovitskiy]

[Text] Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk, 6 Sep—Workers in the easternmost coal basin of Russia, Sakhalinskiy, are the first to begin a one-day strike set for 6 September. Boris Shomin, general director of the Sakhalin Coal Association, told an ITAR-TASS correspondent that about 10,000 miners working on the island [Sakhalin] did not show up for the first shift. All 11 collieries and three open-cast mines have temporarily suspended coal mining and drift cutting. Only safety departments of enterprises are continuing to work. Together with their colleagues in other regions of Russia, Sakhalin miners are demanding that first and foremost, the government unconditionally abide by the rates agreement for this year and release all the necessary subsidies without any further delay.

[Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian at 0300 GMT on 6 September carries a 90-second report on the strike by announcer Vera Shchelkunova, who states that she had phoned the central controller's office of the Russian Federation coal production administration and was told that "the Inta coal enterprise has just reported that all the five collieries will be on strike today." She adds: "However, not all miners have joined the strike, and we hope to receive more information throughout the day."]

Union Official Details Stike

LD0609094793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0931 GMT 6 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Ivantsov]

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—According to preliminary information, 98 mines went on strike in Russia on Monday, Ivan Mokhnachuk, deputy chairman of the Russian Independent Trade Union of Coal Industry's Workers, said in an interview with ITAR-TASS here. The remaining 159 mines continue their operations. This information does not tally with data from Rosugol corporation, saying that work was stopped by 117 mines.

According to Mokhnachuk, mines on Sakhalin Island, in the Maritime Territory, the Rostov coal basin and Inta (Russia's European north) stopped completely coal extraction and its delivery.

As many as 31 mines and 19 open-cast collieries stopped work in the Kuznetsk coal basin. Out of 11 mines in Vorkuta, four are struck completely and five stopped coal deliveries.

Miners' demands are of purely economic nature, Mokhnachuk stressed. They demand that the coal industry be preserved for Russia's future. The main goal of the 24-our warning strike is to prod the government to fulfil its decisions on state support for the coal industry, he added. Their demand is not to pay wages but to appropriate funds for capital construction in the industry, to acquire material and technical resources and to preserve jobs.

There are various attitudes to the ongoing strike. For instance, miners from the Chelyabinskugol Production Amalgamation decided against strike but stopped coal deliveries to customers as a sign of solidarity with strikers. The Independent Trade Union of Russian Miners did not support the job action either.

Official Gives Further Details

LD0709101293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0838 GMT 7 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Ivantsov]

[Text] Moscow September 7 TASS—According to preliminary reports, the damage caused by miners' warning strike held on Monday [6 September] has been estimated at over six billion roubles, Ivan Mokhnachuk, deputy chairman of the Russian Independent Trade Union of Coal Workers, told ITAR-TASS.

According to Mokhnachuk, 237 enterprises of the coal industry, which make up 67 per cent of their total number, took part in the strike. Mining was fully stopped at 133 coalmines and 39 coal fields. Coal deliveries to consumers were halted at 48 mines and 17 coal fields. The strikers were joined by 54 coal processing plants and 40 auxiliary enterprises. The total number of strikers was reported to exceed 560,000.

The given data do not coincide with reports provided by the "Rosugol" corporation which said that only 117 administrative units of the coal industry, incorporating no more than 150 enterprises, were involved in the strike.

Mokhnachuk said that the industry remains in the pre-strike condition since, by now, workers of the coal industry had received only 50 billion roubles out of 500 billion roubles allocated for subsidies to the industry in July-August.

"Coal miners are seeking to receive allocations not for pay rise, but for capital construction, the purchase of technical facilities and the preservation of work places," Mokhnachuk said.

In his opinion, if the government fails to fulfill its commitments to the industry it is possible that strikes will continue in future.

Reports Called 'Highly Exaggerated'

LD0709111393 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0900 GMT 7 Sep 93

[Text] The tasks facing workers of coal industry enterprises are being discussed at a conference that has opened outside Moscow. Over 100 heads of primary organizations of the Independent Miners' Trade Union are taking part.

A RIA correspondent has learned that reports that appeared in the media about the recent strike by mine workers were highly exaggerated. Aleksandr Sergeyev, chairman of the Independent Miners' Trade Union, reported that only 10-15 mines went on strike. The rest were halted because of repairs and for other reasons.

Lobov Views Progress of Economic Reforms, Production

LD0309222493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1443 GMT 3 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Galkin]

[Excerpt] Moscow, 3 Sep—[passage omitted] In his address to journalists and in his replies to questions from representatives of the press, Oleg Lobov focused mainly on the economic situation in Russia, which he described as very complex. The economic reform process is taking place under difficult conditions. Nevertheless, the transformations are also significant. So-called small-scale privatization has been virtually completed, and the selling-off by the state of major economic facilities is beginning.

The deputy prime minister announced that around 40 percent of the country's population was already working in enterprises that had become joint-stock companies or private enterprises. There are around 200,000 small private firms. Approximately 10,000 joint ventures with foreign firms are operating in the country. The active process of breaking up state enterprises into smaller units is also taking place.

Lobov said that one of the shortcomings of the reforms was the fact that real estate has not yet become a real market commodity, yet it was estimated as being worth 500 trillion rubles.

On the subject of social production, Lobov announced that its general decline in the first six months was approximately 14 to 15 percent. Nevertheless, he gave instances of an increase in production in various sectors;

for example, in the production of domestic appliances and construction equipment. An increase in production can be seen where there is the most active cooperation with foreign firms. On the whole, the decline in production is slowing down. The total volume of industrial output in July was 8 percent lower than the July figure for last year. In January of this year, production volume was 18 percent lower than the figure for January last year.

Over the past six months, the state budget has been 100 percent fulfilled with regard to revenue; it has not been fulfilled with regard to expenditures. If the expenditure portion, which includes investment, had also been implemented, then in July and August it might have been possible to have achieved the production level of these months last year.

It is expected that the amount of grain gathered will be 10 to 15 percent above last year's figure. However, the current pace of the harvest is slower, and therefore it is too early to talk about final calculations.

Lobov Memorandum Proposes Economic Policy Changes

PM0609092593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Sep 93 First Edition pp 1, 2

[Mikhail Berger report: "Differences in Government on Economic Policy"]

[Text] Over the past few days a secret but quite tough struggle has been under way to find a solution to the crisis and, in effect, over the choice of economic policy.

On 29 August, the day after Viktor Chernomyrdin flew out to the United States, his first deputy Oleg Lobov sent President Boris Yeltsin a memorandum "On the Economic Situation in the Country and Urgent Measures To Stabilize It."

Why was it suddenly necessary to write such a memorandum and send it just when the premier was absent? The different views of economic policy that have been obvious since the very beginning of the current cabinet's existence have taken on very material outlines since the second half of July. It was during this time that two fundamentally opposed programs emerged—one was prepared by a group of liberal economists working for the government, the other was proposed by the Ministry of the Economy. Both these programs were analyzed in sufficient detail in the press in early August (including in IZVESTIYA Nos. 145 and 147). The essence of the first program is to continue the liberalization of the economy and maintain the priority given to financial stabilization. The second gives preference to intensifying state regulation in the economic sphere and proposes rejecting the tough financial policy in order to support production at all costs—including at the cost of inflationary measures.

While talking about these programs, we should not overlook the obvious fact that such documents, whoever may have compiled or ratified them, have long since ceased to be a practical tool or guidance for action for anyone. But, in itself, the choice of program is of fundamental importance, since it is something akin to a declaration of intent by the authorities and of their commitment to one course or another.

Following a discussion at an enlarged government session 6 August, the first program, which was presented by the premier, was adopted. It so happens that it was decided that the program be "finalized to take account of the comments expressed" and that a final version would be submitted for ratification. Oleg Lobov, whose department prepared the second (rejected) program, nominated himself as chairman of the finalization commission. The aim of this self-nomination was clearly to ensure that the finalization process left the document in the form required by the Ministry of the Economy—which is now staking a claim to the role of Gosplan [USSR State Planning Committee] and Council of Ministers simultaneously.

Nonetheless, Viktor Chernomyrdin appointed himself chairman of the commission, making Lobov and Chubays his deputies. The program was finalized throughout the second half of August. Probably dissatisfied with the prepared draft, Lobov decided to put his conceptual proposals directly to the president, since a formal excuse for bypassing his superior had presented itself—the premier was abroad.

Lobov's five-page missive to Yeltsin contains the well-known theses that "in the specific conditions of Russia...macrofinancial methods of regulation alone will clearly fail." It is time to draw some conclusions, Lobov goes on to write. He proposes revising the principles of privatization and the foundations of the tax system. He also proposes developing the state's entrepreneurial activity—that is, apart from taxes, staking a claim to income where there is a state shareholding—which, under current conditions, would lead to the destruction of state-owned and semistate-owned enterprises. And, of course, he proposes giving enterprises producing "necessary output" a chance to "work normally." The Ministry of the Economy will, of course, select who to punish and who to pardon.

In short, Lobov is proposing removing what he calls the "overall financial pressure that is currently being indiscriminately applied..."

The most substantive aspect of this memorandum is not so much its content as the resolution immediately promulgated by the president on the day the letter appeared—30 August. "I support the proposals in principle. I am asking for a draft edict to be submitted within 10 days."

It will be interesting to see how Viktor Chernomyrdin reacts to the initiative taken by his first deputy, who has managed to convince the president in his absence of the need to issue an edict on changing economic policy.

Government, Opposition Differ on Inflation Policy

PM0609101193 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Aug 93 p 1

[Gennadiy Yastrebtsov report under the "Economic Barometer" rubric: "Terrible Bugaboo of Inflation"]

[Text] Specialists claim that this August has been the most inflationary month for 18 months. Given the present rate of growth of prices in Russia, overall inflation promises to reach almost 30 percent.

Naturally, the government and the opposition make different assessments of this fact. Finance Minister B. Fedorov holds parliament entirely to blame for the financial and economic instability, saying that it has permitted an intolerably high budget deficit. True, not everything is in order with regard to Mr. Fedorov's logic. While declaring that "only the lowering of inflation can show the voters the reforms' real successes," at the same time he regards the policy implemented in the first half of this year as almost ideal. And yet prices then were growing particularly rapidly, and the dollar rate was forging ahead, while the ruble rate, conversely, was falling disastrously, just like the population's purchasing power.

Over the past year living standards have fallen sharply in Russia. Because of the "shock therapy" the people's shortfall amounted to almost 900 billion rubles [R]. In addition, investors' losses totaled R460 billion owing to the high level of inflation.

No edict or decree can "abolish" inflation. Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin has repeatedly declared that, as long as we adhere to realistic positions, it is impossible to continue using "shock therapy" methods and to set ourselves the entirely utopian goal of eliminating the deficit within a month or a quarter.

What, then, is actually being done? Agreement has been reached with the Bank of Russia on gradually reducing the rate of increase in credit emission, in other words restricting the increase in the amount of money in the economy. A certain reduction in state spending is taking place as a result of abandoning a number of ineffective programs. But these are all trifles. One way or another, the working people shoulder the main burden of inflation. The path proposed by Finance Minister Fedorov will make this burden still heavier. The chief financier calls for a financial state of emergency to be proclaimed in the country and for a special budget to be adopted without the Supreme Soviet before the end of the year, which would make provision for new sources of revenue and cut unsubstantiated—from the minister's viewpoint—expenditure. Otherwise, Fedorov warns, international isolation awaits us, and we will not receive support from the IMF.

This is evidently the crux of the matter. God forbid that Russia will turn from the path prepared for it and will not justify the trust of the international financial bosses!

The opposition takes a more sensible view of these things. For example, the leaders of "Civic Union" believe that the "democrats" in Russia are carrying out an uncontrolled reorientation of the economy. With the growth of unfavorable processes, such as the curtailment of the investment process and the increasing importance of the raw materials sector, the "Latin Americanization" of the Russian economy is taking place.

To use the figurative expression of Academician N. Petrakov, our economy is being assigned the role of a sacrificial lamb, which is placed time after time on the all-consuming altar of political passions.

Our currency market is a particularly paradoxical phenomenon. Here the auctions are more reminiscent of sideshows. Fundamental rate-forming factors would appear to exist, including such obvious ones as the dynamics of money supply and internal prices. The more money is in circulation and the higher the prices of goods and services, the lower, logically, the ruble must fall. But suddenly it creeps up. Here it is hardly a matter of only so-called intervention by the Central Bank. Most likely someone cunning and very influential, playing on the dollar's fall, is reckoning on making a huge fortune. It will be no wonder here if the ruble rate falls sharply in September.

Frightening the people with inflation, the ruling clique is in a hurry to rush through its own business and to make the "reform process" irreversible. The very near future will show whether it will succeed in this.

Supreme Soviet

Khasbulatov Sees 'Direct Offensive' by Organized Crime

LD0309190793 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1445 GMT 3 Sep 93

[Remarks by Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov to a session of the Supreme Soviet in Moscow on 3 September—recorded; from the "Parliamentary Hour" program]

[Text] Along with this problem of combating corruption among top officials, we have, incidentally, set aside a more frightening problem; namely, the criminalization of the state. Everyone is currently attempting to say: Let us have elections. Are you really cognizant of what life is like in your constituencies and who will be elected? And will you be able to cope with the big money? It is the people with big money who will be elected.

There is now a direct offensive by organized crime against the state. What place, then, does corruption hold in organized crime? It is one of its forms. Incidentally, it is one of its many forms, because there are many others. Why is it necessary, nevertheless, to speedily transform and reorganize Aslakhanov's committee? It is because this committee has not been completely engaged in this

struggle. Not at all. I have been saying this over and over again for two years now, and it is as though I alone needed this. It is clear, therefore, that one must bear in mind a more formidable danger than the corruption of top officials. This is but the tip.

Take, for instance, the occasion when Vagin, this godfather, was being buried at Yekaterinburg, and thousands of young people followed his cortege. He had already become a hero for them. Incidentally, have you considered an interesting fact? There are two towns of bandits in our country: Yekaterinburg and Groznyy. One is the home town of the president, and the other is the home town of the chairman of the Supreme Soviet. Yes, it is possible to say so. I have in mind our birthplaces, although I have never lived in Groznyy, as you know. However, I was elected to represent it, and my heart aches for it. Judge for yourselves. Does it not seem to you that it is the social requirement in both places and that in both places there are certain forces at work who are interested in this kind of development in the country—criminalization, political crime, and corruption? When will you begin a theoretical analysis of it?

In today's "Parliamentary Hour" program, you will be able to see how forged documents are made. One could at any time come across the signature of anyone—including the president, the vice president, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet, and the general procurator—and you damn well better prove that it is not my signature! When Yuriy Mikhaylovich Voronin and I saw it—I know we are not, as it were, such exalted individuals—but our eyes were really opened wide. Our eyes were not particularly closed. I tell you the truth; this forging technology is amazing.

Supreme Soviet Establishes New State Committee

LD0309142793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1408 GMT 3 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow September 3 TASS—In accordance with Boris Yeltsin's suggestion, the Russian parliament set up a State Committee for Machine-Building, Servicing Agriculture and Food and Food Processing Industries.

The committee will be based on structural subdivisions of the Committee for Machine-Building, which are in charge of tractor and agricultural machine-building.

Speaking in parliament, Vice-Premier Aleksandr Zaveryukha, a presidential representative, noted that agriculture has considerable difficulties caused by the shortage of agricultural machinery and spares.

According to the vice-premier, the analysis of the situation snows that the supplies of tractors, agricultural machines and equipment processing agricultural products to the countryside are at the level of the late 1960s, while the number of available machinery is inadequate to cope with the present volume of work at the optimum agrotechnical period of time.

Zaveryukha noted that the situation is also aggravated by the fact that over 40 per cent of required machines are produced outside Russia. Therefore, it is impossible to mechanise the greater part of technologies employed in agriculture. As a result, labour costs for produced goods increase.

Yeltsin Proposals on Media Law, Censorship Rejected

LD0309125593 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1000 GMT 3 Sep 93

[Text] Today, the Russian Supreme Soviet once again turned downed the main amendments proposed by the president to the law on making changes and additions to the law on mass media.

Let us recall that the disagreements on this question concern primarily the functions of the councils for ensuring freedom of speech on state television and radio broadcasting, the creation of which is provided for by the draft law.

David Tsabriya, first deputy minister of press and information, the president's official representative, noted that the creation of such bodies would mean the introduction of censorship in the country. He said that the balance between the federal authorities would be upset and a new source of tension in society would arise. David Tsabriya stressed that the president disagreed categorically with article 21.3, which establishes the rights of the councils to ensure freedom of speech. In particular, the draft law gives the Federal Council—the supreme body monitoring the activity of the central television and radio companies—the power to appoint and dismiss the heads of state television and radio companies in agreement with the Supreme Soviet.

It is interesting that Vladimir Lisin, chairman of the parliamentary committee for the media, commenting on the adoption of the law stated that the latter would make it possible to escape from very strict censorship.

In accordance with the existing legislation, the document that was adopted today has been sent to the Russian president.

Khasbulatov Urges Elimination of State Debt to Army

LD0309123393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1213 GMT 3 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow September 3 TASS—Russian Parliament Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov has instructed First Deputy

Speaker Yuriy Voronin "urgently to sort things out and take measures" to eliminate the state's financial indebtedness to the armed forces.

At a joint meeting of the houses of parliament on Friday, the speaker stated that, considering the norms for the payment of money allowances, salaries, real prices of food, fuel, payments for military transportation, public utilities and other services, the state's indebtedness to the armed forces as of September 1 is 1,979,000 million roubles. This figure was mentioned by Mikhail Kolesnikov, first deputy minister of defence, in Friday's conversation with Khasbulatov.

"Notwithstanding all austerity policies, there still are some spheres responsible for the ensurance of the functioning of the state as an integrated organism where financing is simply a must," Khasbulatov emphasised.

Parliament Decision on Budget Deficit Draws Reaction

Dubinin Urges Presidential Veto

PM0309103793 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 1 Sep 93 p 1

[Igor Petrov report: "Parliamentary Budget Threatens to 'Bring Down' Ruble. Government Suggests Countermeasures"]

[Text] Finance Minister B. Fedorov's calls for deputies to show civic courage and statesmanship proved to be a voice in the wilderness. Probably because people's deputies are lacking in both qualities. After approving for a second time a budget deficit of 21.8 trillion rubles [R], in other words reducing it by only R600 billion, the Supreme Soviet effectively scuppered all attempts by the executive to secure financial stabilization in the country.

What is parliament proposing? In effect, one thing: To abandon the idea of financial stabilization and provide loans for everything. It is easy to guess the results this will produce. When virtually one-half of state spending will have no real backup, industry and social programs will only be able to be funded by the Central Bank of Russia endlessly issuing credit, that is by increasing the capacities of the printing press.

Parliament's pro-inflationary measures may, in my view, repel Western financial circles, which support the president's and government's reform course. However, it is far more unfortunate that there is no confidence that these steps will indeed enable production to be stabilized and structurally reorganized and the economy made more cost-effective. Ukraine's bleak example is there for everyone to see. Unchecked handouts of preferential credits and generous budget funding have literally "brought down" that country's unit of currency. Nothing else could be expected: Economic laws are objective and cannot be deceived.

Are we really destined to follow that example? According to First Deputy Finance Minister S. Dubinin, his department expected this reaction from deputies and has no intention of repeating other people's mistakes. "At a closed session of the Council of Ministers Presidium we discussed the prevailing situation and outlined measures to preserve the government's financial policy," he said. "This will be possible by declaring an emergency financial situation in the country. But it is necessary to start with a presidential veto on parliament's decision."

S. Dubinin stressed that the Finance Ministry is willing to propose a program to stabilize Russia's budgetary system. Attention is focused mainly on boosting treasury revenue and reducing expenditures. Top-priority measures include improving the procedure for raising and collecting taxes. In particular, it is proposed to introduce compulsory registration of all corporate entities' commercial bank accounts with the tax inspectorate. And to impose tough penalities for violations.

The government may once again suggest to parliament the formation of a special fund to finance agriculture and the coal industry, with the introduction of a special tax for this purpose.

The Finance Ministry intends to review budget expenditures in the fourth quarter. Priority will be given to funding programs scheduled for this period. Arrears in budget-funded personnel's wages will be paid as a priority among the bills hanging over from the second and third quarters. Other spending will be adjusted downward. The nature of working relations with the Central Bank of Russia will also change somewhat, but the Finance Ministry is rejecting the proposal to transfer the bank to government jurisdiction.

"Disputes between the executive and the legislative are run-of-the-mill now," S. Dubinin told ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI's correspondent. "I am more embarrassed by the fact that some deputies are trying to bring down the incumbent government by any means they can. Even at the price of landslide inflation. And that is absurd."

Budget Debate Deemed 'Proving Ground'

PM0309123393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Sep 93 First Edition pp 1, 2

[Report by Valeriy Zenkov under the "Budget" rubric: "Testing Ground for the President's Promises"]

[Text] The state budget for this year is beginning to resemble a proving ground on which the government is essaying its forces, trying the endurance of the Supreme Soviet, and testing the tolerance of the people. A new year is already approaching, and still no one can say clearly under what budget we are living.

Maneuvers around it have already lasted for nearly a year. Let me recall that the government, then headed by Ye. Gaydar, was supposed to present the draft budget by 15 September last year. But only on 30 November did

the Supreme Soviet receive the necessary documents. Their essence is explained better than any words by the proverb: The best laid plans of mice and men...

The draft budget did not sustain criticism. Only on 25 January of this year did the government, now with V. Chernomyrdin at the helm, deign to present refinements and explanations for the draft law. But this document did not differ a great deal from the old one. Since the financial year was in full swing, it was adopted provisionally. It was expected that the government would present refinements by 15 April. However, they only appeared 26 June.

It has to be said that in this period of time the government's tactics were delineatcd.. Even the president's prestige was brought into play to this end. On 4 May B. Yeltsin sent the ratified budget back. The reason? The president demanded that reductions of 20 billion rubles [R] be made in expenditure on science and of R65 billion on investments in the sociocultural sphere. Deputies in their turn once again did not agree with the government's version. Only on 25 May did the state finally acquire a document not only reflecting revenue and expenditure, but also one with whose aid it was possible to influence financial, taxation, investments, and foreign economic policy.

But a month later the pressure was renewed. Now the budget's refinements, which became necessary as a result of the onslaught of inflation, were attacked. In addition the president's generous promises on the eve of the April referendum made the budget leak like a sieve. Trying to secure as many votes as possible, the president and his team did not spare promises. Their realization will this year alone require the additional expenditure of more than R7 trillion.

The Supreme Soviet was obliged to reject once again the modifications made by the government at the end of June, seeing them as an attempt to darn the holes in the budget at the expense of the population. Expenditure connected with decisions adopted by the government earlier was restored. Deputies also thwarted the Ministry of Finances' desire for the introduction of additional levies and taxes encroaching on taxpayers' interests and in the final analysis not promoting the stimulation of entrepreneurial activity or an increase in the efficiency of social production. The Supreme Soviet also swept aside the government's intention to save expenditure through freezing the indexation of the minimum wage.

Sad though it is to say, in the upshot the budget deficit amounted to R22.3 trillion, rather than the R11.9 trillion envisaged by the government. But this figure reflects the real picture of the results of economic reform and the state's growing obligations to society. Is this not why the president loudly proclaimed that he would not sign the adjusted budget indicators ratified by the Supreme Soviet, and then imposed his veto on them anyway?

During the new discussion of the adjusted figures which took place at the end of August, not only clinical, dry calculations spilt over, but also emotions. Minister of Finance B. Fedorov declined to discuss the control figures, walking out of the parliamentary session. V. Sokolov, chairman of the Soviet of the Republic, proposed that V. Chernomyrdin should make representations to the president for B. Fedorov to be dismissed from his post. No reaction has yet ensued.

In the final analysis the Supreme Soviet, rejecting the president's proposal for a reduction in the size of the budget deficit in expenditure terms from 50 to 30.2 percent, adopted a law on adjusting the indicators of the republic budget for this year, taking into account some of the president's criticisms.

Today there is a lull on the budget proving ground. But for how long?

'Politicization' of Budget Debate Seen

PM0309111393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Aug 93 First Edition p 1

[Mikhail Berger report: "By Adopting Its Own Budget, Parliament Has Prolonged the Life of the Government's Budget"]

[Text] As we know, last Friday the Russian parliament ratified for a second time its own version of the budget with a deficit of 21.8 trillion rubles, which represents almost half of total expenditure.

The recent and typical politicization of any economic debate regarding the 1993 budget is rooted not so much in where the draft originates (either president or parliament), but in a fundamental clash between two economic ideas. Either production should be saved, including inefficient production, through unlimited money emission (parliament), or the economy should be rescued by means of a tough financial policy (the president and government).

However, the president's amendments were rejected, and the absence of the finance minister from the continued discussion of this issue after the recess was interpreted as a challenge to the legislators, who demanded that the premier dismiss the minister. For the time being the premier has shown no reaction at all to this recommendation from the Supreme Soviet. There are grounds for thinking that no "marching orders" will follow.

What is the essence of the government's proposed measures to save the budget? As Deputy Finance Minister Sergey Aleksashenko told IZVESTIYA, it is primarily necessary to put together budgets that can be implemented. In the present situation it is specifically proposed to increase excise duties and customs tariffs on imported cars, alcohol, movies, and some other luxuries; to review the procedure for indexing grain prices and the extent of that indexation; and to postpone the indexation of salary and wage rates in budget-financed sectors. Moreover, Aleksashenko added, we are studying the idea

of inviting parliament to announce a tax amnesty for those who honestly declare all their income prior to 1 October, whereas those who continue to hide the source of their income will be subject to multiple penalties.

The government's proposals to local soviets inv[illegible] getting the latter to substantially increase tax receipts from car owners—the tariff they pay is currently less than symbolic; to increase taxation on land use; and to carry out a revaluation of state property.

Sergey Aleksashenko believes that the budget law that has been adopted could once again be "vetoed" by the president. The procedure that this involves will prolong by a few more weeks the existence of the budget submitted by the government on 1 July. Pending the entry into force of the law on the budget, this document remains the sole legal basis for the government's activity.

Decision To Suspend Presidential Edict Detailed

Evidence of 'Crisis' Seen

LD0309112693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1050 GMT 3 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow, 3 Sep—Commenting, at the request of an ITAR- TASS correspondent, on the parliament's decision to suspend the presidential decree, Sergey Krasavchenko, a Supreme Soviet member, drew attention to the fact that during the debate, the deputies "had taken no notice" of the appeal forwarded to them today by Boris Yeltsin. Not only did the deputies not respond to it, they did not even mention it, Sergey Krasavchenko noted, even though the president gave serious reasons for the decree, and called for mutual understanding in the fight against corruption.

The people's deputy said today's session of parliament was evidence of "a crisis within the Supreme Soviet." This was also confirmed by the debate on another question—on the president's amendments to the law on the mass media. Of 27 amendments, only 19 were adopted by parliament. The most important amendments, aimed at protecting freedom of speech, were turned down, he said.

Deputies' Debate Detailed

PM0609103593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Sep 93 First Edition p 1

[Sergey Chugayev report: "Parliament Does Not Agree With President's Cadres Edict, While Deputy Iona Andronov Believes That Conflict in Top Echelons of Power in Russia Was Provoked by Israeli and U.S. Special Services"]

[Text] Even on the eve of the joint session's sitting there was no doubt that the Russian Supreme Soviet would suspend the effect of the president's edict on the temporary suspension of the vice president and send it to the Constitutional Court.

Starting a discussion of this question in the morning of 3 September, R. Khasbulatov stated bluntly that opinion cannot be divided here. The edict contravenes the Constitution and consequently it can only be a question of amplifying the wording of the Supreme Soviet decree.

The main discussion developed over whether parliament itself should deem the edict unconstitutional, as Deputy M. Zakharov proposed (a proposal which was firmly supported by R. Khasbulatov), or to suspend its action and nevertheless give the Constitutional Court an opportunity to assess the edict. In the end the deputies decided not to supplant the Constitutional Court, suspended the effect of the edict, and sent a petition to the court.

So the Supreme Soviet did not react at all to the message sent by Boris Yeltsin to parliament, in which the president asked that his efforts in the fight against corruption and the reestablishment of the authorities' prestige be supported.

The message said notably: "It is no secret to anyone that the fight against corruption is being used to exacerbate political confrontation in the top echelons of power. The exchange of sensational mutual accusations, the division into opposing camps, and the statements made for effect at moments convenient for the political struggle have become today's reality. This is doing increasing damage to the state's prestige and is discrediting both the executive and the legislature.

"I believe that no conflict between officials should hinder the fight against corruption and create a threat to the state. And if this happens, I consider it my duty to act in the country's interests."

Deputy I. Andronov livened the debates up somewhat, as is frequently the case. He expressed his conviction that the conflict in the top echelons of power had been provoked by the Israeli and U.S. special services, which are preparing to replace the president, who is unwell. And the famous Israeli secret service agent R. Eytan is playing the main role in this. In his turn, R. Khasbulatov expressed the hope that this "does not mean General Eytan, a deputy of the Israeli Knesset and a very respected man."

Before opening debates about the presidential edict, the deputies discussed fairly efficiently the presidential amendments to the Law on Amendments to the Law on the Mass Media. Twelve of the 27 amendments made by the president were adopted. As was to have been expected, the parliamentarians rejected the most important amendment, which concerned the creation of so-called councils ensuring freedom of speech in radio and television. Deputy Press Minister D. Tsabriya, representing the president's side, stated that, according to the president, this step means introducing the institution of censorship.

Commenting on the results of the ballot, R. Khasbulatov called on the mass media not to create "problems where there are none," and stated that the main guarantor of freedom of speech is the Russian parliament.

A small hiccup occurred in this part of the sitting only during the discussion of the candidacy for the post of head of the federal council to ensure freedom of speech. As was expected, R. Khasbulatov proposed the appointment of USSR People's Deputy A. Denisov, who was well-known in the past, to the post of leader of the new formation. However, the representatives of the opposition, in the person of Deputy M. Astafyev, rejected this proposal. They stated that they have their own candidate to this post—the equally famous USSR People's Deputy Yu. Vlasov. M. Astafyev proposed that the federal council should elect its own head. Khasbulatov did not protest.

During the sitting, the parliamentarians also rejected the proposal made by Deputy G. Yakunin to convene an extraordinary congress to resolve the conflict in the top echelons of power, and supported the proposal made by O. Rumyantsev to discuss the possibility of forming a Supreme Soviet commission headed by R. Khasbulatov to conduct talks with the presidential side on the problem of constitutional reform.

Further on 3 Sep Debate

PM0609113793 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 4 Sep 93 p 1

[Aleksey Lvov report: "Parliament to President: We Are Suspending Validity of Edict Pending Constitutional Court Decision. Supreme Soviet Has Ignored Letter"]

[Text] Russia's parliamentarians devoted a sizable chunk of their 3 September morning session to discussing how they should respond to Boris Yeltsin's publication of the edict temporarily dismissing Aleksandr Rutskoy and Vladimir Shumeyko from office. The mood of most of the deputies was unanimous—the edict contradicts the Constitution. Isolated voices of support for the president were drowned out in the general hubbub of indignation.

Among the main arguments put forward by opponents of the edict, it was constantly stated that the president was not entitled to remove from office a vice president elected by the whole people. However, by no means everybody shares this position. A couple of days ago, as soon as the edict was circulated, Candidate of Juridical Sciences and People's Deputy Sergey Baburin, who can hardly be suspected of an excess of sympathy for Boris Yeltsin, reminded journalists in an interview that in June 1991 the electorate voted for a president, whereas the vice president came with him as running mate in a "package."

The arguments put forward by the president's supporters, as was to be expected, did not make much of an impact on the majority of those present in the imposing conference hall. The ratio of "pro-Yeltsinites" to "anti-Yeltsinites" within the walls of the Russian White House was graphically demonstrated by the results of the vote: 141 "for," 10 "against," and two abstentions.

The document that was adopted stresses that, by issuing the edict, the president was encroaching on the powers of the judicial organs of state power, since only they have the right to identify instances where an official has infringed legislation, thereby providing grounds for his removal from office.

Pending a resolution of the matter by the Constitutional Court, the validity of the present edict is suspended. At the same time parliament has requested the court to speed up examination of its query of 4 June "On Protecting the Constitutional Status of the Russian Federation Vice President."

The same morning the president's press service circulated his message to the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet and the speaker of parliament. This document was distributed to the deputies, but nobody mentioned it once during the stormy debate.

Presidential 'Offensive' Seen

PM0709105793 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Sep 93 p 2

[Vladimir Yermolin report: "State Owes Army 2 Trillion Rubles. Will Parliament Help Recover the Debt?"]

[Text] As usual, the agenda for the latest session of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet had undergone some changes: It included some additional questions regarding the political situation, which, as we know, have been updated on a weekly basis of late. In particular, the issue of the presidential edict temporarily relieving Aleksandr Rutskoy and Vladimir Shumeyko of their posts was brought to the fore. The working documents handed out to the deputies included the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet draft decree appealing to the Constitutional Court on the subject of examining the constitutionality of removing the vice president from office.

There has been virtually no basic discussion of this edict issued by the Russian Federation president—with a few exceptions, the parliamentarians unanimously agreed that Boris Yeltsin had exceeded his powers by removing the vice president from office. All the indications are that parliament is inclined to view this step by the president as a kind of "fall offensive" against the legislative branch. It is no accident that there was support for Oleg Rumyantsev's proposal that the political situation in the country should be examined at the very next parliamentary session in the light of the deteriorating relations between the Supreme Soviet and the president.

Problems relating to the Armed Forces, the state of which Ruslan Khasbulatov described as "very bad,"

were somewhat surprisingly touched on during the discussion of the agenda. The speaker cited the state debt to the Ministry of Defense as of 1 September: 1.979 trillion rubles. He described this manner of financing the Army as incomprehensible [nedostupimyy], stressing at the same time that "no Fedorovs have the right to delay payment of funds earmarked for defense needs." The Committee for Defense and Security Questions was immediately tasked with setting up a parliamentary commission which should shortly give an exhaustive assessment of the Russian Federation's defense and security.

During the afternoon it was planned to discuss the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet draft decree on the procedure for reorganizing a military formation—the Federal Directorate for Special Organizational Development under the Russian Federation Council of Ministers—and also the decree on urgent measures enabling state organs to implement Russian Federation laws on questions of social protection for servicemen.

Regional Affairs

Rutskoy Visits Vorkuta; Meets Miners, Officials

Holds Meeting 'in Calm Atmosphere'

LD0309131693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1155 GMT 3 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Viktor Makarov]

[Text] Vorkuta, 3 Sep—Today, Aleksandr Rutskoy has been discussing the ways and means of getting the coal industry out of the present critical situation with miners in Vorkuta. In all his meetings he stressed that the aim of his visit is "to study the actual public opinion and evaluate the real situation."

As Rutskoy explained, he has arrived in this northern city at the invitation of heads of a number of councils of the working collectives and miners' committees, who appealed to him to help them to draw up a special program "Miners's Wheel." This program aims to unite miners of the Pechora Coal Basin, metallurgists of Cherepovets, and a number of other enterprises in a single industrial complex of enterprises. During his meetings held yesterday with the collectives of "Severnaya" and "Yun-Yaga" mines, heads of enterprises and people's deputies of Vorkuta, discussions went on about suggested ways of getting the coal industry out of its crisis.

Aleksandr Rutskoy's meetings with the Vorkuta miners are being held in a calm atmosphere, no decisions are being taken. Sometimes he has to answer sharp questions. When the miners bombarded him with questions about corruption, Aleksandr Rutskoy answered: "I am in no doubt that in the course of this month I shall demonstrate to the public who is who."

Campaigns for Civic Union

LD0309154193 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1400 GMT 3 Sep 93

[Text] Aleksandr Rutskoy is continuing his visit to Vorkuta. Our correspondent Olga Sergeyeva reports:

[Sergeyeva] During this morning Aleksandr Rutskoy met the workforce of the Yun-Yaga mine. He repeated almost everything he said yesterday at a meeting held at the Severnaya mine—namely, his total rejection of the president and the government, and his insistence that the president's decree on himself and Shumeyko is illegal. What was new is the fact that Aleksandr Rutskoy openly resorted to campaigning methods. He set out the program of the Civic Union political grouping, and called on the miners to vote for it and its candidates at the upcoming elections.

Rutskoy also condemned the support which the people of Vorkuta displayed for the president and government during the referendum. He suggested his audience go to the Kremlin wall, beat their heads against it, and shout: Russia - Yeltsin.

The guest expressed open support for the "Miners' Wheel" program which was drafted about a year ago. A commercial organization in Kazan, Tan, is behind this program. Experts believe that if this program is carried out, roughly 95 percent of all the profit from the sale of coal—and metal smelted from it—will end up in this association's bank accounts. The meeting was attended and addressed by the head of Tan, Sergey Shashurin.

Eighteen months ago a group of leaders of the Vorkuta workers' movement were accused at a conference of the town's miners of taking large bribes from the Kazan association. Since they were unable to prove the opposite, they were expelled from the workers' committee. These officials are now active propagandists for the ideas of the "Miners' Wheel".

During the afternoon Aleksandr Rutskoy had a meeting at the assembly hall of the Vorkutaugol Association with deputies of the soviets, representatives of work collectives, and mine managers. This evening he plans to speak on local television. Asked who is paying for his trip to Vorkuta, Aleksandr Rutskoy says that he is paying for it entirely out of his own pocket.

Mine Chief Cited on Rutskoy Visit

PM0309201193 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 4 Sep 93 p 1

[Telephone interview with S.P. Broda, chief engineer at the "Severnaya" Mine, by N. Yurin under "Presidential Assault" rubric; date, place not given: "Left With Hope"]

[Text] S.P. Broda, chief engineer at the "Severnaya" Mine, picked up the telephone in Vorkuta, which Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy is now visiting:

"Our meeting with the vice president made a good impression on us," Stepan Petrovich said, "and, most importantly, inspired hope in the miners, and it was no coincidence that they applauded him from the heart. We had after all invited not only Rutskoy, but also Yeltsin and Chernomyrdin, to the polar regions to investigate on the spot the miners' protracted conflict with the government, but, as you can see, only Aleksandr Vladimirovich responded. He gave us an honest warning: In his present position he will not be able to do a great deal for us. However, he did not come empty-handed. While setting out his program to extricate the country from its political and economic crisis, he also proposed concrete measures to stabilize the mining industry. Including measures that we had not thought of before.

"The situation in the mines is still deteriorating. There is no money to pay people's wages, we have been unable to send many people on vacation. The government is not meeting its commitments under the agreement we have with it, and this is only speeding up the collapse of the sector. That is why every practical idea on how to avert a crisis acquires particular weight.

"In my view, it is valuable that Aleksandr Vladimirovich brought with him Academician Vladimir Ivanovich Shpregin, director of the Center for the Study of Market Prices. He addressed us and gave a very competent analysis of the state of the industry and its prospects."

[Yurin] Were there many questions?

[Broda] Yes, and Aleksandr Vladimirovich gave clear, cogent answers.

[Yurin] How did he react to the president's edict removing him from his post?

[Broda] Rutskoy asked us not to harp on that subject. There is the Supreme Soviet, the Constitutional Court.... [Broda ends]

I then telephoned a colleague of mine, Rimma Yakovenko, a correspondent for the newspaper ZAPOLYARYE: She said:

"The vice president's visit is going smoothly, with no ballyhoo. There is every indication that Aleksandr Vladimirovich is calm and self-confident and is winning over audiences with his arguments. That makes a good impression."

Union Discusses Strike

LD0409173593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1657 GMT 4 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Viktor Makarov]

[Text] Vorkuta, the Komi Republic, September 4 TASS—Vorkuta mines resumed today the discussion of possible participation in a warning strike on September 6 and its forms.

A meeting of the council of the Vorkuta federation of the Coal Industry Workers' Independent Trade Union with participation of chairmen of mines' trade union committees changed on Friday its previous decision on non-involvement in the strike and decided to support the action. Still, the final decision will be taken by labor collectives.

The change of the miners' stand is not related to the current Vorkuta stay of Alexandr Rutskoy. Acting council chairman Yuriy Vishnevskiy told ITAR-TASS Vorkuta has not received even the four billion roubles allegedly transferred by the Russian fuel and energy minister in mid-August to pay the Russian Government's debt to the miners.

Another reason for their decision is the appeal of the Russian Independent Trade Union Committee to miners of all coal regions to stick together and show workers' solidarity.

The pre-strike condition on Vorkuta mines preserves. The reason for it is the non-fulfilment of government promises, primarily branch tariff agreements. But the Vorkuta miners hope to avoid the strike on September 6. It is the absence of government reaction that can prompt their action.

Rutskoy Fails To Sway Miners

LD0509222493 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 5 Sep 93

[From the "Itogi" newscast]

[Excerpts] [Announcer Kiselev] Yeltsin's decree on the temporary removal of Rutskoy from the duties of vice president has had no effect on the latter's work plans. The very same day that the decree was issued, Rutskoy departed as planned on a trip to Vorkuta. Many observers link this trip by Rutskoy with his intentions to use the powerful political force of the Vorkuta miners in the interests of his campaign to stand for the post of president of Russia which is, in effect, under way. Our special correspondent Aleksandr Shkirando went to Vorkuta. Here is his report.

[Shkirando] Arctic Vorkuta has long been considered the main coal store of the European part of Russia. However this fact has not been a cause of much joy to the people of Vorkuta recently. So many problems have accumulated here that the mining town is unable to cope with them alone. Rutskoy's visit here which, in his own words, was of a private, fact-finding nature, did not fill the miners' hearts with particular optimism. All the forecasts that the arrival of the temporarily dismissed vice president would prompt the miners of Vorkuta to a strike were wrong.

Moreover, the two days showed that the people are tired of all slogans and that nothing can be achieved by constant mass rallies and strikes. Nonetheless, some coal industry trade union leaders sitting in Moscow are

demanding that a general strike should be started tomorrow in all mining regions. However, in the regions themselves, the mood is not so determined.

[Aleksandr Marmalyukov, first deputy chairman of the Independent miners' trade union of Vorkuta] We are opposed to this strike because, as has happened many times before, this strike was a complete surprise for us. For a long time we have been working to get out of this very grave crisis in the coal industry. On 6 June our chairman was supposed to go to Moscow for a seminar to discuss a program drawn up by Communists, Yavlinskiy, and Gaydar. Workers had sent in certain suggestions from the grass roots. This program on how we are going to get out of the crisis was about to be examined. Suddenly a strike is announced. Naturally we do not believe it to be a good idea at the moment. [passage omitted]

One of the most serious problems for the administrations of Vorkuta's 13 mines is finding the funds to pay wages. In your view, are there any specific ways out of this crisis directly in Vorkuta?

[A.Z. Segal, head of Vorkuta town administration] Yes, there are. We cannot say that mines cannot be closed. Mines have to be closed. After all, today this is one of the, let's call them detonators of the unease in the town of Vorkuta. But we are saying something else: that prior to closing them, mining construction should be introduced. Today we cannot pay up and we realize that the government cannot pay the entire sum that it owes the miners—this is between 6 and 8 trillion rubles according to Aleksandr Vladimirovich Rutskoy's estimate. But what we are saying is that investment is possible; investment in those coal regions that can potentially return that investment, so to speak. Not just potentially, but who are ready to return it if only they can get the investment. The government is duty-bound to deal with this.

[Shkirando] Why do you cite the estimate of Aleksandr Vladimirovich Rutskoy?

[Segal] If one is assessing the situation in the country, then we agree with him. If one is looking for who is to blame, then very many people in Vorkuta, including myself, to a significant extent disagree with Aleksandr Vladimirovich when he blames the government alone for all the troubles. There are several other aspects which need to be tackled at the Supreme Soviet level and on this issue our positions differed. But we agreed that the government's stance with regard to the coal industry today is wrong. It is true that this stance has been under review recently but very slowly.

Central Oblasts Reject Federation Council Draft

PM0609112793 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Sep 93 p 1

[Valentina Nikiforova report: "Provinces' Response to Filatov"]

[Text] Maybe it was the first time they had met like this. No, the chairmen of the oblast soviets of the Chernozem Zone know each other very well; they talk over the telephone and exchange opinions at various conferences in Moscow. But this meeting was special. This was the first time they had gotten together to resolve a most important issue, namely, the power structure in Russia. Should Russia again obediently obey advice from abroad—or declare that it can use its own brains.

And it all started when S. Filatov, head of the president's administration, sent in a strict instruction—to "coordinate by cable" (that is, to approve), by 3 September, the text of the Draft Agreement on the Creation of the Federation Council.... But the chairmen of the oblast soviets of the Chernozem Zone, however, decided to prepare an alternative version of the draft. And, in a joint statement, to express their opinion on what was proposed. This is what it says:

"We, the representatives of six oblasts—Belgorod, Voronezh, Lipetsk, Kursk, Orlov, and Tambov—having discussed the Draft Agreement on the Creation of the Federation Council, support the idea of creating such an organ.

"At the same time, we believe that the proposed text of the draft agreement is unacceptable. We believe that it is fundamentally important to stress that the Federation Council, as a consultative-deliberative organ, should consist only of the leaders of organs of the representative and executive powers of the Federation components, with the possible participation in its work of the president, the Supreme Soviet chairman, and the prime minister.

"At the same time, only leaders of organs of the representative and executive powers of Federation components should be elected cochairmen of the Federation Council. Only if work is conducted autonomously can it operate effectively in Russia's interests.

"We are prepared to submit a detailed alternative draft agreement to the federal organs of power and familiarize representatives of the Federation components with it.

[Signed] "Mikhail Beskhmelnitsyn (Belgorod), Ivan Shabanov (Voronezh), Oleg Korolev and Mikhail Narolin (Lipetsk), Nikolay Volodin (Orlov), Aleksandr Ryabov (Tambov)."

The center of Russia has expressed its attitude toward the latest document thrust upon it. What will others say?

'Live Dialogue' Discusses Federation Council

LD0509152793

[Editorial Report] Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian at 1120 GMT on 5 September broadcasts the 40-minute "Live dialogue" program, presented by Andrey Skryabin.

This week's issue focuses on the pros and cons of the Federation Council—a new political body currently being set up in Russia. The following took part in the roundtable discussion: President of Kalmykia Kirsan Ilyumzhinov, Chuvashia Supreme Soviet Chairman Eduard Kubarev, Vyacheslav Volkov, deputy administration head of the Russian Federation president, and Anatoliy Kovlyagin, head of Penza Oblast Administration.

Skryabin begins by recalling the meeting of heads of the Russian Federation constituent parts in Petrozavodsk on 14 August 1993, where a decision to set up a Federation Council was adopted. This decision called forth controversial reactions among politicians and the public. He asks for the opinion on the matter from the four participants in the discussion.

Kirsan Ilyumzhinov says the Federation Council can be of no use to the subjects of the federation: The country should be ruled by the president, government, and the Supreme Soviet and no third force is needed. On the contrary, Kubarev says that the new body would play a consolidating role, and help bring about a compromise between the presidency and the Supreme Soviet. Anatoliy Kovlyagin, head of Penza Oblast Administration, says that the Federation Council is necessary to keep the federation together. Volkov, of the presidential administration, points out that the initiative for setting up the council originated from the regions themselves, not from the center.

The panel then discusses the nature of the council as it gradually evolved in numerous consultations. Volkov says the council was conceived, not as an administrative, but as a coordinating body. Kovlyagin agrees that it should not have power to take independent political decisions. Ilyumzhinov pursues his idea that political issues, and especially power struggle, should be first settled locally. Kovlyagin refers to the experience of Canada and Germany in implementing local autonomy, expressing his worry that Russia, as a multinational entity, has a particularly long way to go before truly democratic methods of ruling the country emerge. Kubarev stresses that Russia's ethnic regions have no intention of ruining Russia's integrity.

Skryabin then reads out some questions from the public. One viewer inquires why no members of the opposition were present at the discussion, but only people who share Yeltsin's views on the matter. After a few conciliatory remarks from the participants, the subject is dropped.

The discussion returns to the political complications that might arise if the Federation Council had independent powers. Ilyumzhinov says that Russia's next Supreme Soviet should work on a professional basis. Volkov stresses that decisionmaking at the council was based on the principle of consensus. He rules out the possibility of its turning into an upper chamber of the future Supreme Soviet.

Skryabin then reads out a letter asking if the council is not designed as a covert way of replacing the Supreme Soviet. Ilyumzhinov says that, in his opinion, this was indeed the fact and adds that the center should not flirt with the regions, but should work with them. A brief discussion follows on whether Russia's republics were a burden to the federal budget or not. Chuvashia's leader then says that the council will not replace the Supreme Soviet, but will encourage the Supreme Soviet and government to work closer and more peacefully together.

Skryabin then asks what role the council would play in implementing the Federation Treaty. Ilyumzhinov says it would not play an important role—Russia has its own president elected by popular vote, and it is his duty to deal with relations inside the Russian Federation. The head of Penza Administration says that each regional representative defends first and foremost the interests of his oblast or republic, and are less concerned about the interests of the whole. Volkov says that this is what the council is for. Ilyumzhinov again stresses that the regions are interested in Russia having a strong president and not in a third political power appearing on the scene.

A series of questions from the viewers are then read out, airing their disappointment with Yeltsin's policies and the political games he was playing. They complained that they, as electors, should have had some say in the formation of the Federation Council, and that on the whole they did not want any new bodies to be set up. The studio discussion on this matter fizzles out.

Finally, Skryabin asks the participants to sum up briefly what they thought was good and bad about the Federation Council. Volkov says he can see no drawbacks. The rest agreed that the idea was good, but that it should not become a destabilizing force in the already unstable political life in Russia.

Voronezh Oblast To Cut Payments to Federal Budget

PM0609132193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Sep 93 First Edition p 1

[Report by Valeriy Mirolevich: "Voronezh Deputies Join in Fight Against Finance Ministry"]

[Text] Voronezh—The Voronezh Oblast Soviet Inner Soviet has decided to cut payments to the federal budget to 2 percent.

The funds that become available will be used to develop the agro-industrial complex and the social sphere. The document stresses that the decision was made in connection with the curtailment of the financing of programs for the development of the countryside and also as a result of demands by labor collectives and public organizations. Similar steps have been taken in the past week by Yaroslavl Oblast and Altay Kray.

Anti-Yeltsin Congress Taking Place in Kemerovo

LD0409123193 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 4 Sep 93

[By correspondent A. Kolpakov; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] A Congress of Patriotic Forces in Kuzbass is taking place in Kemerovo today. Its organizers said yesterday that the aim of the congress was to define the tactics of action in the modern conditions for the parties and movements that have no confidence in the present government and the Russian president.

[Kolpakov] Judging by the flags displayed above the facade of the building in Kemerovo, where the Congress of Patriotic Forces is being held today, the political gamut of the forces represented there is to be extremely diversified. However, in the hall, the color red predominated. The communists and the local Soviet of People's Deputies who paid for renting the premises, have managed to gather 500 delegates representing eight parties and movements from 20 towns and rayons in the oblast, and the chairman of the oblast soviet and head of the Council of the Trade Unions. The main goals named by the congress participants were change of government, early parliamentary and presidential elections, and making an appeal to the upcoming Congress of People's Deputies to adopt a number of amendments to the constitution limiting Boris Yeltsin's powers. Their economic demands include bringing prices under control and giving priority to work collectives in matters of privatization. The organizers of today's meeting aimed at setting up a new political organization, the Union of Patriots. Now they can make political statements not just on their own behalf.

Ufa City Deputies Support Yeltsin

MK0309155593 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 3 Sep 93 p 3

[Unattributed report under the "NEGA Reports" rubric]

[Excerpt] Deputies of the Ufa City Soviet addressed their voters on 2 September. The republic's press published the text of the address.

According to the deputies, the country is sinking deeper into a political crisis whose main manifestation is in the relationship between the executive and representative bodies of power.

The authors of the address spoke in favor of carrying out the will of the majority of the politically active population who expressed no-confidence in Russia's deputies in the 1993 April referendum. They called for the creation of a special public committee in support of the Russian Federation's first president. The first session of the committee is scheduled for 3 September in the building of the Public Political Center in Ufa.

The deputies called upon all voters to again pool the efforts of all supporters of the president's reform course. [passage omitted]

Yeltsin Backs Moscow Mayor's Criticism of Privatization

LD0509180193 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 5 Sep 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Russian President Boris Yeltsin has voiced agreement with criticism concerning the pace of privatization in Russia contained in a note sent to him by Vice Premier Oleg Lobov and Moscow Mayor Yuriy Luzhkov. The mayor announced this at a meeting with leaders of Russia's regions who were invited to Moscow for celebrations of the city's day. The purpose of the note was to convince the president that the current pace of privatization needs to be halted at once. Luzhkov said that the president had approved the conclusions and suggestions contained in it.

[Unidentified correspondent] Luzhkov feels that what is happening in the field of privatization is criminal. He believes that privatized enterprises are not falling into the hands of their true owners. By way of example, the mayor of Moscow cited the situation that has arisen during the privatization of the Likhachev vehicle works. He maintained that one firm had acquired a controlling packet of shares for a mere 4 billion rubles, even though the imported equipment at the works alone is worth some 300 billion. With such a state of affairs, Luzhkov said, one cannot speak of privatization as a socially just process.

It is curious that Larisa Piyasheva, who from her post as deputy director-general of a department under the Moscow mayor, tried to implement the privatization program in Moscow and was subsequently forced to quit the mayoralty, is now taking the Moscow authorities themselves to task for having sacked her since there was nobody in Moscow who was seriously prepared to take on privatization. This even though, in her view, there existed a very simple and well understood scheme for privatization which would have transformed state property into various kinds of private property within a year. In Piyasheva's view the moment was missed and the new authorities have not played the role history had earmarked for them in carrying out economic reform.

Moscow Politicians Worried by Unchallenged Attacks

PM0309102993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 1 Sep 93 First Edition p 2

[Report by Svetlana Shevchenko: "Political Terror Exists. No Article in the Criminal Code"]

[Text] The press conference was occasioned by the attempted assassination of V. Miloslavskiy-Khlynov,

deputy chairman of the All-Russia Monarchist Center [ARMC]. He miraculously survived four shots fired from a "PM" pistol at point-blank range and is in hospital in a serious condition. The attacker was arrested. It happened on 22 August in Moscow.

Describing the attempt as an act of political terror, the Moscow City Soviet brought together representatives of the Moscow City Soviet public center and Moscow City Soviet commission on military matters and emergencies, of the ARMC and the Democratic Party of Russia, and of the Union for the Revival of Russia, which has so far been denied registration. They are all worried about the increasing frequency of attacks on the leaders of various parties and movements, and on deputies. Moscow City Soviet deputy Romanovskiy's apartment has been repeatedly robbed and Moscow City Soviet deputy Babushkin has been attacked. Nikolay Lukyanov, chairman of the ARMC Supreme Monarchist Council board, said that he had been arrested and held for 24 hours by the militia, falsely accused of stealing vouchers.

According to those present, the problem is that the militia places such cases in the category of criminal cases and so let them drop. Only one article in the Criminal Code—Article 66—relates to terrorism, but it is not applicable in these instances, and apparently there is no plan to amend it; that is, political terrorism exists here, but there is no defense against it.

Ossetian Chairman Says Border Changes Nonnegotiable

LD0609131293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1200 GMT 6 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz September 6 TASS—At a joint meeting in Vladikavkaz between North Ossetia's security council, the leadership of the temporary government and mediators between North Ossetia and Ingushetia, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of North Ossetia Akhsarbek Galazov announced that the question of border changes in the region should be forever removed from the topics up for discussion. He claimed that such changes are fraught with unpredictable dangers.

Galazov expressed concern about any announcements which purported to introduce a special form of government into the area now ruled under martial law.

These, he claimed, could lead to new conflicts between North Ossetia and Ingushetia. Galazov said that the only way the two republics can achieve peace and normalize their relations is through negotiations and mutual compromises.

North Ossetia again called for a prompt political and legal evaluation of the tragic developments in the Prigorodny suburban district at a joint meeting of the security council and temporary administration. North Ossetia's position is based on the Kislovodsk agreement that the problem of all categories of refugees must be solved comprehensively.

Grain Deliveries Held Back by Stavropol Farmers

PM0609133193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Sep 93 First Edition p 1

[Lyudmila Beldyugina report under the "Granaries" rubric: "The Price of a Loaf Will Go Up, But Grain Is Being Kept Back"]

[Text] The Stavropol Kray Soviet of People's Deputies Inner Soviet has ratified Stavropol Kray Administration's decision to introduce free (market) prices for grain from 1 October. A loaf of bread will cost up to 170 rubles [R], and will reach more than R200 by the end of the year. There will now be only targeted bread subsidies calculated on the basis of 400 grams per person.

This aid will be granted to citizens of Stavropol Kray whose income does not exceed R15,480—twice the minimum labor wage. According to the kray's statistics 600,000 people fall within this category; at the same time the kray budget has extremely limited resources.

Meanwhile in the kray, which this year has received a bumper grain harvest of almost R5 million tonnes, the rate at which grain is being delivered to the state's granaries is provoking great alarm in purchasing organizations. As of today grain producers have sold to the state a little less than one-third of the 1.5 million tonnes of grain contracted for one year ago, cherishing hopes that prices will be raised at least to the cost of fuel.

But the state is unable to pay even the fixed price for the new harvest. For this purpose approximately R300 billion are required every week, but only 75 percent of this sum is allocated for purchasing grain.

There is only one solution: For the farms to sell grain to the state now (especially since grain is stored free of charge in the elevators), and for the state to pay at times convenient for the commodity producer. After all, neither the farms nor the private farmers spend money straightaway; rather they put it aside for definite purposes, despite the inevitable losses through inflation.

Stavropol State TV 'Scandal' Continues

PM0609140993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Sep 93 First Edition p 2

["Own Information" report: "Filatov Storms the Airwaves"]

[Text] The scandal provoked by the Stavropol State Television and Radio Broadcasting Company's sabotage of the "Parliamentary Hour" program for 18 August

shows no signs of dying down. On that day the live airtime allocated to Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Chairman Khasbulatov was blocked with a screening of an extensive taped interview with the vacationing Sergey Filatov, leader of the president's administration, by Ivan Shlyakhtin, chairman of the local television and radio broadcasting company.

There has been a stormy reaction to this clearly unequal substitution in Stavropol Kray and neighboring Karachay-Cherkessia. Many telephone calls have been made and telegrams and letters sent to the Kray Soviet of People's Deputies and the Standing Commission for Glasnost and Relations with the Press from inhabitants of the population centers of the extensive territory. Protests have been addressed to the Russian Supreme Soviet and even to the local correspondents of central mass media.

An open letter has been sent to Kray Soviet Chairman Yuriy Goncharenko by Russian People's Deputy Sergey Bystrov who, on behalf of voters, described the actions of the Stavropol Television and Radio Broadcasting Company as an infringement of the rights of television viewers and demanded that a deputies' investigation be appointed.

Company Chairman Ivan Shlyakhtin, his brows furrowed with concern, categorically denied suspicions of malicious intent. An unfortunate blunder had occurred; he himself was on vacation, and the general director of "Pyatigorsk-TR" was on a business trip, and hence the directive they had released the previous day instructing subordinates to show the interview with Filatov within the next three-four days had beens executed with excessive diligence.

Late last week the kray soviet's inner soviet examined the conflict situation and bound the local television and radio broadcasting company to transmit the program with Ruslan Khasbulatov that failed to take place for the viewers of Stavropol Kray and Karachay-Cherkessia.

Lipetsk Oblast Administration Leaders Resign

LD0409223993 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 2200 GMT 4 Sep 93

[Text] A long drawn out conflict with the administration of the Lipetsk oblast has forced Anatoliy Savinkov, head of the Lipetsk administration, and his deputy to reach the decision to resign. According to Viktor Chebotarev, deputy head of the Lipetsk administration, this step, which has sharply exacerbated the political situation in a large Russian industrial center, has been provoked by the flagrant violations of rights in the laws on local self-administration, by the oblast administration's attempts to restrict the activity of the city administration, and to decide autocratically issues that are within the competence of the basic bodies.

Nizhniy Novgorod Arms Fair To Be Held 8-13 Sep

PM0609130793 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Sep 93 p 2

[Olga Veldina report: "Arms Fair. Including What Foreign Intelligence Services Want"]

[Text] Weapons are one thing that has not been exhibited in Nizhniy Novgorod for a long time. The last time was almost 100 years ago—in 1896. Now, almost a century later, the international "Arms, Military Hardware, Conversion" fair will be held in Nizhniy Novgorod 8-13 September this year. Similar exhibitions have already been held in our country—in Vladimir, for instance—but they do not compare in terms of scale with the Nizhniy Novgorod fair that is in the pipeline. More than 250 Russian enterprises will be displaying their wares. Numerous foreign guests will be in attendance, which is why it is being termed an international fair.

Nizhniy Novgorod was not simply chosen at random. Approximately 75 percent of the city's enterprises work for the defense industry. And the test ranges and firing ranges that exist there have been especially adapted to display military hardware.

We have things to be proud of in the sphere of weapons. Certain models are superior to their Western counterparts, or simply have no counterparts—such as the "Tor" air defense system, which operates both against aerodynamic targets and against ballistic and cruise missiles. Its radar covers a range of 18-25 km, while its impact zone is up to 12 km. The S-300 PMU-1 system is superior to the U.S. Patriot in terms of range and accuracy, and even in terms of the speed at which it can be readied for firing. Basically, we are competitive. But arms exports to third countries in 1991-1992 fell by no less than 40 percent. On the other hand, two countries simultaneously recorded sharp increases in their arms sales to such countries—the United States (by 38 percent) and France (by 46 percent). There are many reasons for this. The arms market means a tough, competitive struggle. And we have lost out.

International Affairs

Crimea's Bagrov Interviewed Ahead of Yeltsin-Kravchuk Talks

PM0309104193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russia 3 Sep 93 First Edition p 1

[Interview in Simferopol with Nikolay Bagrov, chairman of the Republic of Crimea Supreme Soviet, by Anatoliy Stepovoy and Nikolay Semena; place and date not given: "Nikolay Bagrov: Instability in Crimea Would Be a Great Disaster Both for Russia and Ukraine and Not Just Them"]

[Text] On the eve of the meeting in Crimea between President Boris Yeltsin of Russia and President Leonid Kravchuk of Ukraine, your IZVESTIYA correspondents met in Simferopol with Nikolay Bagrov, chairman of the Republic of Crimea Supreme Soviet, who will also be taking part in the presidents' talks.

[IZVESTIYA] Nikolay Vasilyevich, what do you as leader of the autonomous republic's parliament expect from the meeting between the presidents?

[Bagrov] Not only I but everyone in Ukraine and Russia have great hopes pinned on this meeting. Previous attempts to resolve the problem of the Black Sea Fleet did not yield the desired result. Hope still existed after the Yalta meeting, but the agreement signed at Zavidovo has been given a mainly negative reaction. I think that these attempts have added to the presidents' experience. I hope that a rapprochement of positions has already begun and that we will manage to find the optimum solution.

But I also have a worry. If the problem is not resolved the situation may deteriorate significantly. This will add to the general difficulties in Ukraine. That is very bad. But let us be optimists...

[IZVESTIYA] How do you regard the idea of Russia's leasing Sevastopol as a base for its fleet?

[Bagrov] I think that a solution to the problem of the Black Sea Fleet and Sevastopol would have been found by now if the sides had compromised from the outset. But if the discussion at the talks turns to the leasing of Sevastopol this means that a third party—the autonomous Republic of Crimea—becomes involved, because Sevastopol is also our land and our property. I am ready to discuss any options so long as a peaceful solution to the problem is found.

[IZVESTIYA] Does Leonid Kravchuk listen to your opinion and take your position into account?

[Bagrov] The process of the establishment of the Republic of Crimea was complex, but fortunately understanding has begun to emerge between the leaders of Ukraine and Crimea. The evidence of that is provided by the adoption of the law on the demarcation of powers between us and the Ukrainian president's support for our decision on the creation of an open economic regime. Our legal basis is clearly defined by the Constitution and treaties: Crimea is a republic within Ukraine [v sostave Ukrayny]. The expansion of our economic autonomy cannot harm anyone. Thus everyone should take account of our republic's position.

[IZVESTIYA] Signatures have been collected in Crimea for a referendum on confidence in the Supreme Soviet. What is your attitude to that?

[Bagrov] Why waste money on a referendum? The Law on elections of a new Crimean parliament has already been published. It must be adopted, new elections must be held quickly, and all the speculation over the inadequacy of our Supreme Soviet must be removed. Adopting this law will not be easy. The question is whether to hold elections based on party lists when there is no real multiparty system yet. And the second point is how to ensure that the deported peoples are represented? I favor the quota principle although there is great opposition on this question.

Russia's Kostikov Previews Items on Agenda

LD0309133293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1208 GMT 3 Sep 93

[ITAR-TASS special correspondents Yuriy Sizov and Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Massandra (Crimea), 3 Sep—The working meeting between the leaders of Russia and Ukraine opened today in Massandra on the Black Sea coast of the Crimea. It began with one-to-one talks between Presidents Boris Yeltsin and Leonid Kravchuk.

Since the agenda embraces a broad range of problems, talks are also being held by members of the two delegations—Prime Ministers Viktor Chernomyrdin and Leonid Kuchma, as well as the foreign and defense ministers.

Vyacheslav Kostikov, the Russian president's press secretary, told the ITAR-TASS correspondent that the leaders of the two countries would refrain from making any statements until the end of the talks. They are in a good, working mood, the press secretary added. When the presidents of Russia and Ukraine meet they can find a common language. The experience of their previous meetings shows that they are two people who are concerned about cooperation and the interests of their people, but they are able to move away from individual problems and ambitions and tackle major strategic and geopolitical tasks.

Asked about the problems that are the focus of attention of the two heads of state, Vyacheslav Kostikov singled out the Black Sea Fleet—a problem which, he said, bears "a complicated, emotional, and psychological load." "You know how much heat is generated in the parliaments of Russia and Ukraine when the fate of the Black Sea Fleet is discussed," he said.

As far as economic problems are concerned, the press secretary continued, Russia has no intention of aggravating the situation in Ukraine. On the contrary, Russia understands the importance of maintaining stability throughout the geopolitical and economic area of the former Soviet Union and has an interest in ensuring that there is peace, calm, and order in the "nearby foreign" countries. Therefore, Vyacheslav Kostikov expressed confidence that the conversation between the two presidents would be constructive and would proceed from the necessity of giving Ukraine economic aid and, primarily, aid with energy.

However, he continued, there will be discussion of the prices of oil and gas. In his opinion, Russia is hardly likely to push the question of paying world level prices for these types of fuel. However, he added, the prospects are that Ukraine, as an independent state, sooner or later will pay Russia world prices. "Independence is a heavy burden," Vycheslav Kostikov said.

The press secretary rejected the suggestion that Russia would issue ultimatums at the talks. "Russia has never issued ultimatums to anyone," he stressed.

All the members of the official delegations will take part in the second stage of the talks. The presidents of Russia and Ukraine are expected to hold a news conference at the end of the talks.

Terms Talks 'Pretty Tough'

LD0309200493 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 GMT 3 Sep 93

[By correspondent A. Pishchayev; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] According to Vyacheslav Kostikov, the Russian president's press secretary, the talks [between Yeltsin and Kravchuk] were pretty tough. This was because there is still no mutual understanding between President Kravchuk, the Supreme Soviet, and the Ukrainian Government. All in all, he commented that the summit had not been sufficiently well prepared.

Russia To Acquire Black Sea Fleet

LD0309142193 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1337 GMT 3 Sep 93

[Report by special correspondent Semenov]

[Text] Can you hear me? Yes? I ask, I do beg your pardon, because there is a lot of noise here. All journalists accredited at this summit ran for the telephones, because a sensation has occurred. Several minutes ago, at an improvised news conference—improvised because the talks will be continued—the presidents of Russia and Ukraine announced several decisions which have now been reached.

The most sensational of them is that the Black Sea Fleet remains a single entity—a single entity under the Russian flag. The point is that the presidents of Russia and Ukraine have agreed that the fleet is being divided by half symbolically and Russia is buying out the other half of the fleet, as it were. That is to say, the entire fleet remains Russian and Russia is compensating the Ukraine for the cost of that part of the fleet which could have theoretically belonged to Ukraine.

A very important point here is that the Ukrainian debts are taken into consideration in these settlements. Russian President Boris Yeltsin said that the fleet's residual value and its book value are generally known. A joint commission has been set up. It is due to determine who owns what to whom. That is to say, if it transpires that apart from the settlement of debts either Russia or Ukraine owe something to someone, they will naturally have to pay. Apart from this, the bilateral commission is due to determine a system of settling accounts for onshore bases, first and foremost Sevastopol.

Evidently, a complete stocktake of this will be carried out, but in any event those who are awaiting the results of the talks, particularly the Black Sea fleet sailors, may to a certain extent be pleased. What the majority of them were demanding—the preservation of the fleet's unity—has been achieved.

It was a bit more complicated with other issues. The presidents have not yet found a way out on the common problems of debts and financial payments. There are difficulties over nuclear weapons, although agreement has been reached on what is, in my opinion, the main question. Nuclear warheads from Ukrainian intercontinental missiles will be taken to Russia. There they will be dismantled and the nuclear fuel or nuclear material - no longer enriched - will be returned to Ukraine but after an interval of about a year.

On tactical nuclear weapons, on intercontinental nuclear missiles, on the missiles, themselves and not the warheads, and on the technical servicing of them, agreement still has to be reached.

But, the last thing: No matter how surprising this may seem, the news conference was, as I have said, an interim one. Evidently the presidents will be holding no further meetings with the journalists. We shall learn the final results either at the end of today or tomorrow and the talks will be continued.

And one more bit of information. Boris Yeltsin told the journalists as a preliminary that evidently the meeting of the CIS states which was planned for 7 September will be postponed to 24 September. He said that this was not for fundamental but for technical reasons.

Accord on Black Sea Fleet

WS0309144793 Kiev Ukrayinske Radio First Program Network in Ukrainian 1400 GMT 3 Sep 93

[Text] As was already reported, a working meeting between Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk and Russian President Boris Yeltsin has taken place in the village of Massandra today. The first meeting of the leaders was held face-to-face. At the same time, delegations from both governments were conducting round-table discussions. Afterwards, talks were held between the expanded delegations and chaired jointly by the two presidents.

The Ukrainian delegation included Ukrainian Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma; Supreme Council Deputy Chairman Vasyl Durdynets; Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko; Defense Minister Kostyantyn Morozov; Interior Minister Andriy Vasylyshyn; Mykola Khomenko, secretary of the president's administration; and other officials.

According to last-minute reports, a press conference by the Ukrainian and Russian presidents has just concluded. The two leaders stated that they managed to reach a consensus on nuclear weapons. A solution to the Black Sea fleet issue appears to have been found. In particular, the Ukrainian portion of the Black Sea fleet is to be transferred to Russia, thus the Black Sea fleet will become entirely Russian. Russia will pay Ukraine compensation for its part of the fleet, which can be written off from the Ukrainian debt to Russia. The issue of the Sevastopol naval base, Boris Yeltsin said, will be resolved on the basis of agreements with towns, rayons, and villages. However, a score of economic problems between the two states remains the most complicated issue today. So far, they have not been resolved. This is what the presidents said.

Russia 'Prepared To Pay'

LD0309171193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1641 GMT 3 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS and UKRINFORM special correspondents Anatoliy Grigoriev, Viktor Demidenko, Yuriy Sizov and Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Masandra, Crimea September 3 TASS—The Russian-Ukrainian summit in Masandra, on the Crimean peninsula's Black Sea coast, focused today on the question about whether the Black Sea Fleet can be transferred to Russia in its entirety. President Boris Yeltsin told the press conference here today that Russia was prepared to pay Ukraine for the half of the fleet which belonged to it under earlier agreements. As concerns the base for the fleet, he said, it will be used in keeping with international rules on the basis of agreements with individual cities, areas and settlements.

Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk noted that the earlier adopted documents on the Black Sea Fleet had failed to fully take into account the actual situation, as well as the views of Sevastopol and the Crimea as a whole. He added that today's approach to the solution of the Black Sea Fleet problem distinguished between two aspects—the fleet and the base. As concerns the fleet, a joint Russian-Ukrainian commission will be set up, consisting of financiers and jurists, to identify all possible aspects of the problem. Kravchuk explained that Ukraine might consider the proposal to transfer its part of the fleet to Russia. As for the use of the Sevastopol naval base by the Russian Fleet, the joint commission will identify all aspects associated with this problem on the basis of international practice.

The joint commission is due to complete its work by the end of September and then the final decision on the fleet will be made.

Touching on Ukraine's debt to Russia, Boris Yeltsin told the press conference that much would depend on the price of the Ukrainian part of the Black Sea Fleet. If the price exceeds the amount owed by Ukraine to Russia at present, Russia would pay the margin.

Responding to a question from ITAR-TASS and UKRINFORM about the strategic nuclear weapons stationed in Ukraine, the Russian president said that the prime ministers had signed a respective agreement, the warheads would be removed to Russia which will pay compensation to Ukraine for the common uranium.

"More details of this agreement will be published in the press," President Leonid Kravchuk added. He also said that Ukraine was going to appeal to U.S. President Bill Clinton for help with the dismantling of the missiles. But this approach will be discussed separately, the Ukrainian president said.

Negotiations between the two countries will continue for a month at a level of committees, commissions and special agencies entrusted with regulating bilateral relations.

Nationalists Say Fleet Deal 'Dangerous'

AU0309175093 Paris AFP in English 1727 GMT 3 Sep 93

[Text] Kiev, Sept 3 (AFP)—Ukrainian nationalists slammed the agreement to sell Kiev's share of the Black Sea fleet to Moscow as "dangerous" Friday.

"It is dangerous for Ukraine to have in its territory a fleet so important, perhaps carrying strategic weapons, under Russian control," the nationalist legislator Dmitro Pavichko told AFP.

The agreement announced by Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Ukrainian head of state Leonid Kravchuk in Yalta earlier provides for Ukraine to give Russia its share of the fleet as well as all its nuclear weapons in payment for its energy debt.

The presence of the Russian fleet at Sebastopol "will stir up Crimean separatist feelings," Pavichko said.

"It would have been better to reduce the fleet, and close Sebastopol as a military base," he said.

Pavichko warned that the Ukrainian parliament could still block the accord when it comes up for ratification.

But he accepted that the state of the Ukrainian economy, which has been virtually strangled by Russia's recent reductions in gas and oil supplies, made such a compromise necessary.

The agreement would at least permit the restoration of fuel supplies, Pavichko said.

Meanwhile Ukrainian communists hailed the deal as reasonable.

"The danger (for Ukraine) is not one of having a Russian base on its territory," Socialist Party leader Alexandre Moroz, "it is having bad relations with Russia."

Moroz argued that by getting Russia to sign a lease for Sebastopol, Kiev will gain Moscow's recognition that the Crimean port belongs to Ukraine.

Earlier this year the Russian parliament passed a motion declaring that Sebastopol belonged to Russia.

'Text' of Russian-Ukrainian Communique

LD0409072393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0712 GMT 4 Sep 93

[Text] Moscow September 4 TASS—The press service of the Russian president circulated on Saturday the text of the joint communique signed by Presidents Boris Yeltsin of Russia and Leonid Kravchuk of Ukraine in the Crimea on Friday.

"During the working meeting between President Boris N. Yeltsin of the Russian Federation and President Leonid M. Kravchuk of Ukraine in the Crimea on september 3, 1993 an exchange of opinions on a wide range of issues of mutual interest took place. Among the issues discussed were further development of bilateral relations and, in particular, economic cooperation between the two countries, mutual payments, the Black Sea Fleet and strategic nuclear weapons.

The presidents stressed that Russian-Ukrainian relations are relations of special partnership for both states.

The presidents have instructed the state delegations to prepare within a month proposals for solving the problem of the Black Sea Fleet on a comprehensive basis, taking into account the ideas and agreements reached during the talks.

Also discussed was the question about the settlement of Ukraine's debt to Russia for 1992-1993.

The presidents confirmed their intention to continue efforts aimed at reducing and eliminating nuclear weapons which may become an important factor for building peace free of nuclear self- destruction. In this connection a set of questions was discussed, including on the utilisation of nuclear warheads deployed in Ukraine and fair compensation for them.

Participating in the summit meeting heads of government Viktor S. Chernomyrdin and Leonid M. Kuchma signed:

—an agreement between the government of the Russian Federation and the government of Ukraine on utilisation of nuclear warheads;

—basic principles of utilisation of nuclear warheads of strategic missile forces stationed in Ukraine;

—an agreement between the Russian Federation and Ukraine on the mechanism for exercising supervisory control over the exploitation of strategic nuclear complexes of strategic forces stationed on their territory.

The presidents expressed mutual will to promote further development and expansion of bilateral ties between Russia and Ukraine, especially in the economic sphere, on the basis of principles of equality, mutual benefit and honest fulfillment of obligations, and with due account of mutual interests and international law.

Boris N. Yeltsin and Leonid M. Kravchuk emphasised the usefulness of the summit meeting and expressed readiness to continue this practice.

The meeting was held in the atmosphere of mutual understanding and constructive dialogue.

[Signed] President of Russia Boris N. Yeltsin
President of Ukraine Leonid M. Kravchuk"

Kravchuk Downplays Fleet Sale

LD0409054493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0434 GMT 4 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yefim Shvartsman]

[Text] Kiev, 4 Sep—A late night program on Ukrainian TV described the Russian-Ukrainian summit in Crimea in a tone which reproached the Ukrainian president over "the sale" of the country's share of the Black Sea Fleet to Russia. An interview with People's Deputy Dmitr Pavlychko, who stated that the Black Sea Fleet, which now belongs to Russia, will "loom over us and over our independence," was interrupted. The interview of the people's deputy was cut off to show the return of President Kravchuk to Kiev. Leonid Kravchuk stated that "Ukraine has not sold her fleet. This is not so." "No decision has been made on this issue. Russia expressed its readiness to buy out a part of the Ukrainian Fleet," he said, "of the 50 cent which we own according to the Yalta and other agreements. A commission is being set up to define the price of that fleet and it is only following this that a decision may be made."

Kravchuk said that "our goal—that is, Ukraine's goal—in the Black Sea is to define how many ships we need and

of what class. We will decide what to sell, what ships to sell." The Ukrainian president pointed out: "I—let me stress this—am emphasizing that the question has not been resolved. The question has been raised, that's all." Leonid Kravchuk went on to say that Russia had acknowledged Ukraine's right to a part of the fleet. He stressed that Ukraine did not need as many ships as it had in its share of the fleet. "We have to sell anyway," he said. "If we were rich, we would be talking differently."

A question was also asked about nuclear weapons. The Ukrainian president said: "We have resolved this question. Russia has agreed to pay compensation to Ukraine and to service the missiles. Here we have reached an absolutely normal decision," he pointed out, but it relates only to warheads, while there are missiles as well. This question has stayed on the agenda, and it will be raised and tackled again."

Leonid Kravchuk was also asked whether he could comment on the alleged resignation of Ukrainian Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma. "Ask Kuchma," responded Kravchuk. "I have not spoken to him."

Kravchuk Interviewed on Talks With Yeltsin

LD0409103893 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 0730 GMT 4 Sep 93

["Interview with Leonid Kravchuk, President of Ukraine, at Borispol airport following his return from talks in Yalta with Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation"—UNIAR headline]

[Text] Question: Is it true that a decision has been adopted on the sale of the Ukrainian fleet to Russia?

Kravchuk: Absolutely not. Because no decision on this issue has been adopted. Possible realistic approaches to the question of the Black Sea Fleet were discussed, and one of these questions has emerged. Its essence is that Russia showed readiness to buy out part of the Ukrainian fleet. That is, of that 50 percent of the fleet, which we have in accordance with the Yalta and other agreements, Russia can buy a part of it. We decided to appoint a commission, in which will be representatives of Ukraine, Russia, and probably the Crimea, and this commission, having evaluated the value of the whole fleet, and all the existing infrastructure, will make appropriate proposals, while being guided by international norms and those, say, agreements, which we have already adopted. Only after this can a decision be adopted from the economic and financial point of view.

But another question still has to be clarified - this is our strategic question, and our tasks on the Black Sea. That is, only when we have combined all of this, the tasks, I mean, how many ships we need, what class of ships, after this we will decide what to retain of that 50 percent, and what to sell. Because one way or another we aim to sell those ships and other weapons on Ukraine's territory, which we do not need for implementing our strategic and tactical tasks. I am stressing that the issue has not been resolved, the issue has only been raised. A commission has been set up to make proposals. We will study them, deliberate over them, and only after this will a decision be adopted.

Question: Was the issue of nuclear disarmament discussed?

Kravchuk: This is the only one of the issues, which we have already resolved, that is, which we signed. The essence of it is that Russia has agreed, first, to compensate Ukraine for nuclear substances (enriched uranium).

As for the servicing of our strategic missiles, which are located on Ukraine's territory, we have resolved this with Russia. We clarified all of the time periods. An absolutely normal decision took place, which meets Ukraine's and Russia's interests, but for us scrapping is a question, which we will be resolving and studying and raising with the United States and other states. That, which I spoke about before, the setting up of a nuclear disarmament fund - this issue has not yet been taken off the agenda. We will ask and insist, and demand, if it has gone that way, that Ukraine be assisted in resolving the whole range of issues.

Nothing has changed in that Ukraine will still have half of the fleet and everything else. After all, we did not finance this decision [as received]. That is, Russia has recognized Ukraine's right, just as we have recognized Russia's right, to half of the fleet. Only one thing is changing: what are we going to do with our half. Can we, for example, today maintain 300 ships. Naturally, we cannot. One way or another we have been raising this issue for a long time. We will either be writing off or selling part of the ships, both according to their age and according to the tendencies of their utilisation. If we sell this to Russia, and not to another state, is this some kind of concession? No, I do not see absolutely any concessions in this. The issue has only been raised of possible utilisation of our property, the infrastructure of the fleet, which will remain there. This issue will also be studied, and after it has been studied it will be resolved. That is, we are going for further deepening of this issue, for taking into account the true situation. After all, we are taking into consideration the interests of Ukraine as a whole, and not only of the Black Sea Fleet.

Question: Aren't you afraid of the opposition?

Kravchuk: If you fear the wolf, you shouldn't go into the woods. The opposition exists to criticize the authorities. And the authorities exist to protect Ukraine, and to view Ukraine not from the point of view a ship, but from the point view of 52 million people, its regions, to live, have good relations with Russia, to receive energy-carriers normally, and find the money to pay. If we were a little richer today, and if all together we, the Supreme Council, the president, and above all the government, had brought Ukraine to wealth, and if we went to the Crimea today, having at least a billion dollars in our bank account, then the opposition could speak louder. But

now we have to consider our realistic possibilities, think about Ukraine as a whole, and not about an individual question.

Question: What can you say about the statement by Leonid Kuchma regarding his resignation.

Kravchuk: You ask Kuchma about this, because I have not discussed this issue with him.

Opposition Leader Accuses Kravchuk of 'High Treason'

LD0409154793 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 1415 GMT 4 Sep 93

[Text] Kiev, 4 Sep—"This is high treason!" This is how Vyacheslav Chornovil, chairman of the People's Movement of Ukraine [Rukh], described the essence of the tentative agreement between Leonid Kravchuk and Boris Yeltsin on the sale of the Ukrainian Black Sea Fleet to Russia, and the intergovernmental agreement on the transfer of nuclear warheads from Ukrainian missiles to Russia. "The sale of warships would in fact imply recognition of Sevastopol as a base of the Russian Fleet, which is tantamount to a handover of this city to a foreign country," the opposition leader stressed. "Having robbed the state and stuffed their Western bank accounts with hard currency, top communist authorities in Ukraine have begun selling off national property for oil. If we had a truly popular parliament and state structures formed in a civilized way, the president would be in for impeachment."

The Rukh chairman called for the president's resignation after urgent elections to the Ukrainian Parliament. The People's Movement will appeal to the congress of Ukrainian parties, public associations, and trade unions on 9 September for the most resolute of protest actions aimed at toppling the power of national treason.

Zlenko Comments on 'New Stage' in Russian Ties

LD0409174493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1655 GMT 4 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Anatoliy Gordeyev]

[Text] Donetsk, 4 Sep—At a meeting with representatives of the mass media, Ukrainian Foreign Affairs Minister Anatoliy Zlenko said today that the results of the Crimean meeting between Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk was a new stage in Ukrainian-Russian relations based upon constructive principles and taking account today's realities, Ukrainian television reported.

Deputy Premier Shmarov on Russian-Ukrainian Talks

LD0509111193 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 0700 GMT 5 Sep 93

[News conference by Ukrainian Deputy Prime Minister for Military-Industrial Complex and Conversion Valeriy Shmarov; place and date not given—all quotation marks as received]

[Text] [no dateline as received] "At the meeting between the heads of Ukrainian and Russian Governments, there was an exchange of views on a rather wide range of problems of interest to both sides: Issues of economic cooperation, mutual payments, strategic arms, and the use of nuclear warheads. We also discussed the issues concerning the Black Sea Fleet. This meeting can be described as a step forward in the development of Ukrainian-Russian relations. However, it would not make sense to overstate its importance. One must say that the issue of Ukraine's debt to Russia was looming large over the atmosphere of negotiations. This had a certain effect, both on the course of the summit, and the results of the settlement of certain issues.

"On strategic arms, the work was done on the basis of the agreements already reached. You know that there have been projects on the technical maintenance of strategic weapons. But they had not been signed by the heads of government, only because these documents contained principles which did not suit the Ukrainian side. One must say that these problems were solved successfully, and we managed to import in these documents what was of interest to Ukraine: Mainly, it concerned compensation for Uranium and warheads that will be released after disarmament. Until now, there had been no unanimity on this issue, but the Russian side took a more constructive approach at the negotiations: The terms concerning the use [of nuclear warheads] were determined, as well as the terms of payment and compensations. It was established that payments will be made in conformity with world prices, and that the deadlines will be more specific.

"The prime ministers signed three documents: On the technical maintenance of strategic weapons, an agreement on the use of nuclear warheads, and the main principles of their use. I believe that it is a positive breakthrough which answers many questions of a political and economic nature. I think it is an achievement of the summit. Another achievement is that in the course of negotiations the Russian side for the first time acknowledged the legitimacy of Ukraine's claim for compensation for the tactical weapons withdrawn from Ukraine last year. These are quite large amounts, in terms of Uranium we are talking about tens of tonnes of, and, of course, Ukraine has a great economic interest here. But one should not expect this to be a quick process. What has been done, has been done and we are talking about something we no longer possess, something that is already in Russia.

"I must also mention that we established in the course of negotiations that the work on taking [missiles] off alert, their dismantling, and recycling [of nuclear warheads] will begin only after the Ukrainian Supreme Council ratifies this issue. If it does not, we cannot embark on this. However, there is an action plan, there is an agreement on both sides, and I believe it is a positive step toward the settlement of this part of the problem.

"But I must say that although there has been an exchange of views on the governmental level, negotiations on this issue failed to take place. Our model proposed a compromise scheme: Working in line with the agreements reached earlier, i.e. determining the transitional period and gradually separating the ships into national fleets, while retaining, for this transitional period, the nucleus which would guarantee security and represent both Ukrainian and Russian interests in the Black Sea region. This is essential today, because the issue of creating a Ukrainian national fleet involves time and expenses. We believed that a truly transitional period, and an indivisible nucleus of the Black Sea Fleet should fulfill the strategic military tasks of both states. At the same time, the formation of national fleets on the basis of this Black Sea Fleet would be underway. This is not very different from the agreements made earlier. There were also quite constructive proposals on the use of land-based infrastructures. For it is the land-based infrastructures that make up a large part of the Black Sea Fleet, i.e. airfields, communications, command posts, etc. We believe that they are, quite legitimately the property of Ukraine, and we proposed a scheme of economic relations in this sector. We believed that the Black Sea Fleet, being financed from the budgets of both states during this transitional period of its existence, would at the same time, have to use these infrastructures on agreed terms. This is a lawful approach which is determined by our lawful legislation and our ownership rights.

"We also proposed a scheme for a joint command which would strengthen Ukraine's influence in the process of the fleet's division, and would assist the fulfillment of the tasks at hand. What we meant was the involvement of Ukrainian [defense] department representatives in the fleet command.

"I must say that these ideas were outlined by the Russian side in the course of consultations and the work of experts, and we came to this summit with the hope that our scheme would be accepted. But the discussion of this scheme failed, and the Russian side proposed a totally different option, totally unexpected for us. This had not been discussed before, it was [the Russians] 'homework'. Ukraine was offered to sell its share in the fleet for a 'compensation', in the form of money or something else. In other words, the conversation returned to our debts again. The same went for the land-based infrastructures.

"The Ukrainian Government could not agree to this scheme and no settlement was reached at the level of heads of government and government delegations. On the one hand, we were not prepared for this, on the other, even at first sight, this looked to us like too heavy a scheme, and I believe it could involve various consequences for Ukraine. The issue was transferred to the level of the presidents, but I do not think it would be ethical for me to comment on the president's actions and decisions. You know the results, the presidents made their decisions public in their interviews. I can only add that these are still only proposals that the presidents instructed their governments to work on for a month, and I believe it will be a difficult month. For our part, we will make every effort for the implementation of the Moscow model in this interpretation to be as profitable to Ukraine as possible."

Sevastopol Body Demands City, Fleet Decision Implementation

LD0509110793 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 0700 GMT 5 Sep 93

[Text] Sevastopol, 4 Sep— The Popular Assembly [Narodne Viche] of the Sevastopol Russian People's Council has held an unauthorized rally, at which about 2,000 participants demanded the implementation of the Russian Supreme Soviet decision on the status of Sevastopol and the Black Sea Fleet. Participants in the meeting, in a protest against the prosecution of the leaders of the Russian People's Council for their organizing unauthorized rallies, organized the picketing of the Sevastopol Internal Affairs administration building. Traffic in the center of Sevastopol was paralyzed. At the same time, a group of activists of the Prosvita association's city branch set up a picket line near the city's state administration building to protest the actions of Aleksandr Kruglov and his followers and to demand a relevant decision by the local authorities.

Opposition To Demand Kravchuk Dismissal

LD0509183493 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1445 GMT 5 Sep 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer Mikhail Osokin] News agencies are reporting that a number of deputies from nationalist and democratic organizations in Ukraine are intending to demand the dismissal of President Kravchuk at a session of parliament.

Kravchuk has been in a difficult position following his talks with Russian President Yeltsin. According to the POSTFACTUM agency, Vyacheslav Chernovil, the leader of the Rukh movement, has declared that the agreement in principle between the two presidents that the Ukrainian part of the Black Sea Fleet should be sold to Russia is national betrayal.

The opposition leaders are not stinting when it comes to strong language, either. In Chernovil's opinion, having robbed the state, the supreme communist power in Ukraine has started selling national property in order to receive oil. In reply, Kravchuk declared that if Ukraine

had 1 billion dollars in the bank, the opposition would be able to criticize him for his decision. That was a report from the POSTFACTUM agency.

Meanwhile, it looks as though the calculations will go even beyond billions. According to reports from well informed sources, Moscow has already given Ukraine estimates of the value of the Black Sea Fleet. According to these estimates, the value of all the fleet's infrastructure and ships comes to around 36 trillion rubles [number as heard].

However, the sailors themselves are complaining that they are being allocated less money than they need and that they are having to economize on combat training as a result. In particular, the Black Sea Fleet newspaper, FLAG RODINY, has reported on problems which the fleet has faced during exercises. For example, a helicopter was carrying out a mission to find a submarine, but there was no submarine in the water, because it was too expensive a luxury for these days, and there was no submarine-detection equipment on board the helicopter. In another case, airmen had to cancel their planned torpedo bombing because the torpedoes had not been delivered.

Morozov Replies to Grachev's Statement on Fleet

LD0509162793 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1500 GMT 5 Sep 93

[Text] Ukrainian Defense Minister Kostyantyn Morozov today issued an official statement in response to yesterday's public speech by Pavel Grachev, chief of the Russian Federation's military department. In it he undertook to interpret in a free manner the decision by the Ukrainian and Russian presidents at their latest negotiations on the Black Sea Fleet.

As a member of Ukraine's delegation at these negotiations, Kostyantyn Morozov declares that there was no agreement on the issue of selling the Black Sea Fleet to the Russian Federation or on the use of the infrastructure in the Ukrainian city of Sevastopol. I consider the way the issue is formulated, without consideration of the issue on withdrawing the Russian fleet beyond the borders of Ukraine, is unacceptable from the point of view of defense.

Later, Kostyantyn Morozov emphasizes that, in compliance with an order by the Ukrainian head of state, our government has been entrusted to make calculations concerning Russia's proposal and report on the conclusions. The defense minister expresses confidence that this will be done by Ukrainian experts and patriots in the interests of its safe defense.

Kostyantyn Morozov also stresses that he does not doubt the necessity of reviewing the given issue at the Security Council and submitting it for ratification by Ukraine's Supreme Council.

The statement ends with an appeal to the sailors of the Ukrainian Navy. Kostyantyn Morozov assures them that all the difficulties along the path of building a native fleet will be overcome, and that the Ukrainian state will never leave the defenders of its coastal frontiers in the lurch.

Cherkassy Republican Party Criticizes Crimean Talks

LD0509161893 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1500 GMT 5 Sep 93

[Text] A meeting of the Ukrainian Republican Party's [URP] council has been held in Cherkassy. It discussed the present political and economic situation in our state. An election program was also worked out.

The meeting's participants also approved a number of political documents, in particular with regard to the results of the Crimean meeting between the presidents of Ukraine and Russia. It is stressed that not a single government delegation, not even a head of state, has the right to sign treaties that threaten Ukraine's territorial integrity and weaken its national security. The URP Council considers that the decisions which have just been adopted in the Crimea are precisely of this nature.

Protesters in Lvov Say Country on 'Verge of War'

LD0609092393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0905 GMT 6 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Galina Nekrasova]

[Text] Lvov September 6 TASS—"Ukraine is on the verge of war", said leaflets circulated in the western Ukrainian city of Lvov on Sunday. Warnings of the same kind were distributed to participants in a 2,000-strong meeting in front of the local opera house. The Russian tricolour was burned during the meeting.

The act of protest was organised by the committee "For the Salvation of the Honour of the Nation" set up two days ago in Lvov. The committee brings together a score of nationalist parties and organisations including the Rukh, the Republican, Conservative and National Socialist parties, UNSO, and the Union of Ukrainian officers.

The committee called for the resignation of the traitor President Leonid Kravchuk who gave the Black Sea Fleet and nuclear weapons to Russia and the resignation of the president's representatives "pursuing the policy of betrayal and compromise".

The committee also called for sending out of Ukraine all the servicemen who have refused to take the oath of allegiance to the Ukrainian state, shutting down all Russian enterprises and organisations in Ukraine, raising the existing prices for the transit of Russian natural gas, oil, electricity and freight via Ukraine.

The committee has dispatched a message to the United Nations with a request to send a special commission to

Ukraine to oversee the division of the property of the former Soviet Union and the entire Navy, including the Black Sea Fleet.

The committee decided to appropriate the local independent newspaper and open headquarters in central Lvov to organise meetings and pickets in Lvov, Ivanovo-Frankovsk, Ternopol and other cities of the region. People will be sent to Kiev to picket the parliament.

Ukrainian National Assembly Issues Anti-Kravchuk Statement

LD0609123593 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 1100 GMT 6 Sep 93

[Text] Kiev, 6 Sep—The Ukrainian National Assembly has released a statement addressed parties and public organizations accusing President Leonid Kravchuk of taking an unpatriotic approach in the settlement of the "Crimean problem" at his 3 September Yalta negotiations with the president of Russia. It says that Leonid Kravchuk's proposals have made a peaceful settlement of the Black Sea Fleet issues impossible. The Ukrainian National Assembly declares it is necessary to:

1. Call an extraordinary session of the Supreme Council and express no confidence in the president, as well as remove Leonid Kravchuk from the office of commander in chief of the Ukrainian armed forces.

2. Simultaneously hold elections to the Supreme Council and the president's office.

3. Put forward the president's immediate resignation as a priority strike demand.

Kravchuk Grants News Conference on Yeltsin Talks

LD0609182393 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1200 GMT 6 Sep 93

[News conference by President Leonid Kravchuk in Kiev, conducted by unidentified moderator, with questions by domestic and foreign correspondents, identified where possible—live]

[Text] [Moderator] Good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen: Another meeting is starting between representatives of the mass media and Ukrainian President Leonid Makarovych Kravchuk. As usual, questions from the microphones are welcome. Our subjects are not clearly defined, which means that, as always, Leonid Makarovych is ready to answer topical questions about everything of interest to you. Shall we start at once, Leonid Makarovych? The first microphone please.

[Levytska] Levytska, the Press Service of the Congress of National Democratic Forces. Esteemed president: I have two short questions.

The Ukrainian Supreme Council has not yet ratified the Strategic Nuclear Arms Treaty. On what basis was the document signed in the Crimea, transferring all nuclear warheads to Russia? Also, my question is about (?the term) of 17 months mentioned by Boris Yeltsin in his interview with Ostankino.

Here is the second short question: Inspired by the Russian victory at the negotiations, Russian chauvinists in the Crimea buried a coffin with the words Independent Ukraine written on it—I mean buried and burnt it. This was authorized by Simferopol. Until what time will the president and Security Service overlook actions of such a kind? Thank you.

[Kravchuk] First of all, in the document signed...[pauses] I will read it. This is the intergovernmental agreement and the main principles of utilizing the nuclear ammunition of the strategic nuclear forces deployed in Ukraine. In accordance with these documents—it is further written—that will be brought into effect after the necessary within-the-state [vnutrishnyo- derzhavnyy] procedures are carried out, Russia will ensure that highly enriched Uranium warheads will be processed to produce Uranium with a lower degree of enrichment that will be used to make fuel for Ukrainian nuclear electric power stations. So the document was signed in compliance with every international norm and principle; after the necessary internal state procedures are implemented.

In accordance with our Constitution, this procedure is a ratification. In other words, the agreements provided for will be implemented after ratification, and I would like to stress that there was no violation from the point of view of internal procedure.

Thus, one cannot say now that the documents have already been brought into effect. Only when the document is ratified will—as we agreed—the procedure of taking the warheads to Russia be determined with appropriate compensation, agreed to both by Russia and Ukraine. Also, the obligatory guarantee period [maintenance] and manufacturer's supervision of the operation of the strategic missile systems deployed in Ukraine will be carried out. An agreement was signed on that, too.

Thus, the issue of the manufacturer's supervision and guarantee period [maintenance] was settled, which is very important, and so was that of compensation for the Uranium and its transformation to a lesser degree of enrichment. The implementation of all this will be carried out, or started only after every within-the-state procedure is complied with.

As for the burning of coffins and so on and so forth, as well as other illegal or unlawful actions, instructions regarding that have been given by the president, both to our Procurator's Office and Security Service accordingly.

[Moderator] The second microphone.

[Sergey Zarya, speaking in Russian] Sergey Zarya, Zarya Information Agency [name of agency as heard]. Esteemed president: Just recently, an unsuccessful

attempt has been made by Defense Minister Kostyantyn Morozov to conclude a military treaty with the United States. The United States did not agree to it and the whole affair trickled down to signing a memorandum.

Our view is that the existing geopolitical distribution of forces [rasklad] makes it a matter of priority to conclude a military treaty with Russia. In the context of this, will Military Minister Grachev's proposal for such a treaty to be concluded in at least one given area, namely on the Black Sea, encounter the support of the supreme leadership of Ukraine? This is the question I would like you to answer.

[Kravchuk] Defense Minister Kostyantyn Morozov, during his assignment to the United States of America, did not set himself a task of concluding a treaty or agreement. Firstly, that a relevant declaration was made there between the military departments of the United States and Ukraine seems to me a useful matter, and we do not have any grounds whatsoever to assess it to be negative. Secondly, to compare agreements concluded by either the United States of America, Germany, or Great Britain, to those to be concluded with Russia or any other state, would be a mistake from whatever point of view it is considered. Ukraine is an independent state and can conclude agreements with any country, provided they are for the benefit of Ukraine.

As for Minister Grachev's proposal, we have to have it studied. It was not mentioned in the Crimea. At least not at the meeting of the two presidents. Perhaps, it was earlier mentioned elsewhere, which I cannot tell. We have to have it studied—to us, it is a new proposal—governed by the documents, laws, and resolutions, adopted accordingly by the Supreme Council, that are in force in Ukraine. If this does not contradict our laws and if this is for the benefit of Ukraine in precisely that region and that of Russia, we shall consider the proposal. This is my answer.

[Moderator] Microphone three, please.

[Mudryn] Mykhaylo Mudryn, EKSPRESS-KHRONIKA, Moscow. Esteemed Leonid Makarovych. A lot has been said about Ukraine's difficult economic situation. As you say, we have what we have. Suffice it to say that the negative balance of payments to Russia amounts to around 17 trillion karbovantsi for oil and almost 10 trillion karbovantsi for gas, this year alone. Moreover, future payment for fuel next year may come to more than $11 billion, but why negotiate a sale of the Black Sea Fleet to Russia, when, in my view, there are other sources of hard currency revenue? I am talking about three draft laws worked out by the cabinet of ministers and submitted to the Supreme Council in line with the established procedure back in June. I am talking about the privatization of unfinished construction projects, taxation of unfinished construction projects, and privatization of gasoline stations, and according to preliminary calculations, the implementation of at least the first draft law can bring a revenue of almost $21 billion. Then is it not worth your while supporting these draft laws or issuing a decree to that effect? Thank you.

[Kravchuk] I would ask you to be careful about quoting various figures because they are floating about everywhere: millions, billions. Actually, the debt, according to the data we have and the data the government has, amounts today to a little over $2 billion—a little over two billion. This is slightly over 2 trillion rubles. This is Ukraine's debt. It will be examined as to its sources, how it came about, and everything it has to do with, but this was the figure cited in Crimea. This is one thing: an official figure.

Here is another thing: I would like to take you a while back to the history of the settlement of the Black Sea Fleet problem. You know that during the Yalta summit [1992], we stood for the division of the fleet, and we struck a figure: 50/50. Then Russia was against the division of the fleet, thinking it more sensible to have joint use of the fleet or a joint fleet in the Black Sea. In Davydovo already, Russia was actively in favor of dividing the fleet, and it explained this by saying that having a joint fleet is practically infeasible and can lead to the decay of the fleet, both in the strategic and tactical aspects to say nothing of the different political and military difficulties that could ensue.

After that, the Supreme Council of Crimea, the Black Sea Fleet command, and the Sevastopol authorities made formal statements saying that they were against the division of the fleet and that the fleet must be united. This is the attitude of Crimea, the command of the Black Sea Fleet, the officers assembly, and Sevastopol leaders. Thus, a situation emerged when after the meeting in Davydovo, some Black Sea Fleet ships, first of all maintenance ships, as you know, raised St. Andrew's flags. We stopped the spread of this flag-raising action through Admiral Baltin, as I informed you at the time, to prevent raising them on military ships.

Thus, today, we in fact have 50 percent of the Black Sea ships Ukrainian and 50 percent Russian. However, this is the way the issue is documented, in accordance with the agreement. What does the situation look like in reality? Each of those ships has servicemen, and if we were to put the question today, I am saying this quite sincerely and frankly, how to divide the people with these ships, we would face very difficult problems. I don't even know how we could solve them. This is the political aspect of the problem.

There is also a purely factual one which concerns our capacity. Are we able, say, in Ukraine today, and do we need, which is also important, to maintain such a fleet? To provide for its functioning, military operations, interaction, its use, etc.? Let us say frankly that what we would like and what we are capable of today is far from being the same. I will not touch on the problems of a different nature today. Thus, following from our tasks in the Black Sea, having decided what kind of fleet we need, what its capacity should be to ensure that we meet the

tasks facing the Ukrainian state in the Black Sea Fleet, we may not need the rest, and we can sell part of the fleet to anyone, including Russia. This is my view, I am expressing it, and I know that other people hold the view that we can sell part of the arms we have, including those in the Black Sea Fleet, which cannot be used today because there is no need for them. Again, I want to stress that this will be decided in accordance with the internal state procedures.

I would like you to understand one thing. Every such meeting has two aspects of discussing problems. The first is signing treaties and those take effect immediately or after relevant procedures, while the other concerns those that have been discussed before and on which instructions have been given. Thus, the treaties that have been signed are mentioned in the joint communique. They are there. You will find nothing in the communique saying that the presidents of Russia and Ukraine have already agreed on the sale of ships, lease, etc.

Since the Russian delegation dismissed at once those proposals which the Ukrainian delegation had at the level of the government working groups—and you may remember that an instruction had been given in the Ukrainian and Russian presidents' statement to prepare them—I was informed that an agreement had been made, and that is actually why this summit took place, because I was guided by the fact that there had been an agreement. But during the meeting it turned out that the Russian side dismissed outright all proposals submitted by our working group as unacceptable.

And Russia tabled its own proposal. I have never been in the habit of dismissing any proposal at once. Under the difficult conditions we are living in, we must discuss everything and make balanced decisions. That is why an instruction was given, and I stress, merely an instruction, to a government commission made up of Ukrainian and Russian representatives, to study the proposal tabled by Russia. To study. No other decision was taken. Once it is studied, this proposal will be discussed in accordance with the procedure, I stress, may be even at Ukraine's Security Council, and we will make a decision. And, again, if we do sign an agreement of some kind, again, I stress, it will take legal effect only after its ratification by the Supreme Council in accordance with our Constitution. That is why any talk about somebody selling something to someone, or somebody betraying someone, follows, I think, from Ukraine's internal political situation and different forces watching the president to trip him up on something, even when he did not sign anything, and using the situation to cause popular discontent.

I would ask you to think about this. Let us say Russia submitted a proposal. Besides, Russia went with quite tough intentions, and this was clear from the very beginning, having behind it such powerful levers as Ukraine's debt and the position of the Crimea, the fleet, Sevastopol, etc. These are big levers and I want you to know about this. Let us say we refuse and there is no mention even of the instruction. Russia knocks on the door, Ukraine knocks accordingly, and we depart. Today or tomorrow you come home, switch on the gas fire and there is nothing. Then again the question will arise: Who is to blame for the misfortune, again the president, because he was unable to agree. This is already a cross that one has to bear.

But I want to say that I will act in accordance with the procedures, the norms, and laws that exist in Ukraine. After the documents are ratified they will enter into force. If they are not ratified then they will not be implemented accordingly. This is the task of the executive power: To submit proposals, to analyze, to sign, and the Supreme Council can introduce amendments. I want you to know this. As they say, now is not the time to raise the flags. Before doing this one needs to accurately study the problems, the situation, our actions, and in the given situation, our dependence on Russia. I am guided here by two principles: That there is peace in Ukraine and that we must not provoke a conflict between Russia and Ukraine. When we are dealing with a stronger person we must think about how we can find a correct and an intelligent decision. We must not simply come out with words behind which, as we all know too well, there is no real force. There is only a desire, and desires should be reinforced with diplomacy, politics, and economics. If something is missing then it is necessary to find such decisions that will guarantee our statehood, our statehood. Life will tell whether or not they are true. But the main thing today is that they have not yet been adopted; only a task has been given. This is the main thing.

[Pohorelova] Iryna Pohorelova, RESPUBLIKA newspaper. Mr. President, we heard from Mr. Yeltsin a rather unpleasant statement to the effect that Ukraine is insolvent. This is not the fact of one day, or one minute. This is the result of either our two-year long independence and this is some perspective. [sentence as heard] Are you ready to acknowledge Ukraine's bankruptcy, as such? What else has Ukraine got to sell to get out of this situation, and what has been done by the executive structures to find out about this debt, and not only this debt, but about the state of Ukraine in general, so as to improve it in the near future. What will happen to the government of Ukraine? Thanks.

[Kravchuk] I did not quite understand: What will happen to the government?

[Pohorelova] This is toward the end. Because our government is always to blame for everything. So, it is interesting to know what will happen to the government in the near future?

[Kravchuk] Everyone must bear his responsibility and his guilt. The president his, the Supreme Council theirs, and the government their responsibility. I am not inclined to find out who is more guilty. I only adhere to the fact that no one should make attempts to shift his guilt on to somebody else. This is an ignoble cause, and it always brings about misunderstanding and conflict

situations. You take the Constitution, look in Article 119 of the Constitution and you will see what the government should do. Read the law or the article about the president, and you will read what the president and what the Supreme Council should do.

Because today, due to some reason, there is a competition in liking or disliking. Some would like to put the entire blame on the government, others on the president, and the third ones on the Supreme Council. While speaking at the Supreme Council, I said that we have to find a common solution, supporting all of them equally, solving those problems that have emerged today in Ukraine. I will not compete in saying who did more and who did less services to Ukraine. I will not compete in saying who has the highest and who has the lowest rating in Ukraine today. This is being done by the people who would like to put the leaders in an awkward, I stress this, situation.

This is quite often done skillfully by the people who set, probably, other goals. I know one thing: The president, the government, and the Supreme Council are coping poorly with the programs and tasks that have been set. There is discontent among people. If there is discontent, it will be an infeasible task to calm it down by means of a tug-of-war or it will be impossible for at least one of these three to come to the surface in the most heroic manner. There is one problem today: How to lead Ukraine out of the crisis. If a question emerges concerning power and its prestige, there is another problem: How to transfer power in a civilized manner, and I was talking about that at the Supreme Council. I would like to ask you, if some are so keen on throwing mud at the government, and others on defending it and presenting it as a hero, do not do this because the heroism of everyone of us is reflected in the food stores.

[Storozhuk] Storozhuk, Ukrainian TV. Leonid Makarovych. The Russian mass media are interpreting the results of the meeting in the Crimea and what is more important, Russia's policies, as persistent, unambiguous, and quite arbitrary. Let us say this is pressure on Ukraine. For the time being we will not say that this is not true. One example is the official statement which Defense Minister Morozov was forced to make on Sunday as a reaction to the statement by Russian Defense Minister Grachev on Saturday. How would you comment on this? Is this another political confrontation between Ukraine and Russia and did you feel this pressure during your meeting with Yeltsin? Thank you.

[Kravchuk] Once again I would like to return to our youth. It seems to me that if the question of the Crimea were settled in such a manner that it were agreed between the Russian and Ukrainian delegations and signed accordingly then the presidents would, as it is always done when delegations meet, when they come to us and when we travel to them, be left with the task of signing it and as they say, would give it the green light, but this did not happen. We always ...[changes thought] I want both the Ukrainian and the Russian delegations and our various ministries to know this— everyone has their own position and they begin to discuss it in the corners. Then they cannot agree on something and issue such an intelligent statement as: Let us pass this over for the presidents' decision. The presidents meet and adopt a decision. In the given situation it was a protocol decision in the form of an instruction. Then again it is now time to complete our youth and begin serious political, diplomatic and constructive work: to prepare the draft documents that have been agreed and not to pass them to the presidents, the presidents can resolve something or can give an instruction and then to say somewhere: You know we are not involved in this because this was done by the presidents. Therefore, this game surrounding the meetings and the attempt to give these meetings some other character other than what they really were or to provide another interpretation of the documents than what they are in reality, does not benefit Ukraine or Russia.

Now with regard to the pressure: It was quite a tough meeting because the problem was difficult and the situation is not a simple one, but I must say that it was of a constructive nature, although various levers were applied, but do not forget one more detail. When we gather within the framework of the CIS then I observe that they often forget that these are already independent states and somebody thinks that this is a continuation of the USSR, and this creates a corresponding aura around such negotiations and people sometimes forget which situation they really find themselves in, although at this meeting Russia had more powerful levers than Ukraine and it was not simple for us.

[Moderator] Microphone three, please.

[Levytskyy] Yaroslav Levytskyy, NASHE SLOVO. Esteemed Mr. President. At a news conference on Friday you said that the talks with Russia would have been entirely different had the state treasury had at least $1 billion. What prevents us from having that $1 billion, if, according to expert calculations, the shadow structures are milking Ukraine for a lot more than $1 billion? And why did you, as head of the executive power, not initiate reforms? And why was the construction of the Odessa oil terminal frozen?

[Kravchuk] What prevented us cannot be put in one word or one sentence because there are problems regarding the practical actions of the executive power, problems regarding the legally binding acts, laws and decrees, and problems of executive power as such which is capable or incapable of efficiently carrying out what can really work or submitting relevant proposals that could open the door to real steps. This is how it is, but to say that the government and our ministries did not look for a solution—I would not describe it this way. I want you to know: The government which is now in office did not bring Ukraine to a crisis. It was there before. The government has simply been unable to take Ukraine out of the crisis—yet. That is true, but the fact that there is a quest for steps is true too. There is a presidential decree

on relevant actions concerning flotation, there are relevant laws and decrees, but not all has been done yet. Three laws have been mentioned here, and I believe they are important—on privatization of unfinished construction, gas stations, etc. This has to be done by the Supreme Council. According to the Constitution, a president's decree on these issues would not be lawful or constitutional, I would say. I can issue one, but it would not conform to the constitutional norms. That is why it has been submitted to the Supreme Council.

According to the Constitution, I have the right to issue decrees on issues that are not regulated by the acting legislation, and whatever has been regulated and is within the Supreme Council's remit must be dealt with by the Supreme Council.

If it were so simple to find solutions to these questions, they would probably have been found, and not only in Ukraine. There are different proposals. You know what a difficult structure our economy has, how energy-consuming it is, and it is not easy for us today when we often meet with opposition locally. That concerns communal property as well. For as you know, communal property is at the local councils' disposal, and privatization, first of all, of communal property needs to go ahead fast. So far it is being slowed down there [locally], although relevant norms have already been imposed. In other words, there are difficulties, difficulties of the transitional period, objective and subjective, and one must try to have a correct interpretation of both. This will benefit the practical actions of the government, the Supreme Council and the president.

Well, the competitive bidding for the terminal commission is nearing its end, so as soon as it is completed, this problem will be dealt with practically, but it has to be completed first.

[Correspondent] [Name indistinct] Spanish Information Agency. Mr. President: News agencies and radio stations citing one of the Ukrainian news agencies have reported today that Kuchma has resigned, that you have accepted this resignation and that only a decree remains to be signed. Is this true? The second question: Grachev, Russia's defense minister, said that he will not accept persons to serve on the Black Sea Fleet who have sworn allegiance to Ukraine. How will this issue be resolved, and was this discussed?

[Kravchuk] I will begin from the last question. This was not discussed because it was not being decided. Russia's position is that there cannot be a joint fleet, that there has to be a Russian fleet on the Black Sea and it wants that part of the fleet which belongs to it. This is so. If Ukraine resolves the issue to sell part of the ships then this will be a Russian fleet. That is the first issue.

The second issue is about the use of Sevastopol's infrastructure by the Russian fleet, and when it becomes a Russian fleet along with all the trappings of a Russian fleet then clearly Ukrainian citizens will not be able to serve there. There cannot be even any discussion of swearing or not swearing allegiance. These are Ukrainian citizens, citizens of Ukraine and they can only serve in a Ukrainian fleet. They are serving now because the fleet is still a joint fleet. So this issue is not part of those issues that have to be resolved. It will be resolved in an objective manner once the problem of the Black Sea Fleet and the use of the infrastructure are resolved.

As far as resignation is concerned, I only know this. After the discussion of the program in the Supreme Council, the presidium of the Cabinet of Ministers met and discussed the situation. According to what the premier told me, they discussed the fact that since the Supreme Council did not approve the program this meant that in fact it does not approve the government's current and planned future activities. So, they said, what is to be done—this could only mean resignation.

I told the premier as follows. First of all, this could not be interpreted this way, because the Supreme Council has the right to make relevant additions and remarks—especially since this programme had been submitted to the Supreme Council at the Supreme Council's direct instruction. Thus, the Supreme Council gave the instruction and the government submitted the program, so why should we deprive the Supreme Council of the right to make relevant remarks and include them in the program? After all, it is the Supreme Council's right. The Supreme Council did not reject the program, it merely said that it needs some more work and will be voted on after the opening of the eighth session. So there are no grounds for this.

Thus, I only know that this question has been discussed, but in fact no question of resignation has been taken up with the president today. It is logical: if the Supreme Council failed to approve the government's program, and if the government or the premier wants to resign for this very reason, he needs to raise this issue with the Supreme Council for I had not discussed the program. Everything must be logical. That is why I don't know where this information comes from.

From which environment—I read this which was near and far [as heard]. It seems to me that we have one misfortune and once again this misfortune is the reason for our youth. You see, in all civilized countries, official statements, especially if they concern acute issues, are made by heads of state or appropriate persons in accordance with their instructions. We had just arrived and everybody knew that I would be meeting with you on Monday—it was announced long ago—but even before this everybody had managed to write something or say something without knowing where the thunder originated from, or tried to justify himself or put the blame on somebody else or do something else. It is the times we live in or perhaps it is, I would say, due to political inexperience, or perhaps there is something else here. But I think to take up too much time at an interview and at various news conferences rashly and without having a relevant instruction from anyone and as they say, a relevant position on this issue will not bring any benefit.

What has been said has already gone out today. But I have cited and produced real documents that exist and everyone wants to demonstrate their merits before the fatherland by being its biggest patriot. This is our misfortune. I don't know how can we rid of it. Perhaps you can help us?

When I came I have a short interview at the airport and said that we would meet on Monday. I understand your task is to say it even before it was discussed. This is the task of the press, the earlier the better. I have no complaints here. But when officials are hasty then this is not very normal.

[Mediator] The second microphone, please.

[Pysanska] Valentyna Pysanska, HOLOS UKRAYINY. Esteemed President, shortly before your meeting with President Yeltsin, there was a report in the Ukrainian press that Russia had suspended energy carriers and, in particular, gas deliveries to Ukraine. Did you discuss this at your meeting with President Yeltsin, and did you reach any accords on the resumption of energy carrier deliveries to Ukraine? If not, how long will it take to negotiate this and, meanwhile, can Ukraine survive without energy carriers?

[Kravchuk] I would like to cite the following data: There was nothing said about a complete suspension by Russia. What there was, was a report in the press that the gas and oil supply was cut by 30 percent. I did not come across any information about a complete suspension.

In the Crimea, it was said in no uncertain terms at the meeting between the government delegations, that if Ukraine did not find the means to settle its debt and make payments for energy carriers, that are due now, Russia would be forced to suspend oil and gas deliveries to Ukraine entirely. This was said in no uncertain terms, rather than hinted at, as it were; this was straightforward. For two reasons, I would like to repeat this: If Ukraine did not settle its debt, and did not find any means to make payments for energy carriers, that are due now.

This was the situation the delegations had to work in.

[Tkachenko] Tkachenko, REUTERS Agency. Leonid Makarovych, for two years we have been hearing, that according to Ukraine's stand and your personal stand, the Black Sea Fleet must belong to Ukraine. Then this stand gradually changed. What changes had to take place over the past two years to make both your stand and that of Ukraine alter? This is the first question. What are your personal relations, because there are very many rumors around this issue, with Prime Minister Kuchma? Are you like-minded people as far as the implementation of reforms in Ukraine is concerned?

[Kravchuk] So, the first question: What has changed in my stand? Of late, I have often emphasized that the state can only maintain such an Army and such Armed Forces that its economy allows it to do; this is not something new. Not in the least. This is a well-known stand and every state acts like this. When we were getting down to building our Armed Forces we did not know to the full extent the real economic situation and the depth of the current economic crisis. Today this is obvious to everybody. Two variants are possible here: either to blame someone, or to look for ways to a solution. I do not think accusations will be of use to anyone, because I am convinced that this is an objective process of a transition from an economy of one quality, to an economy of another quality, or from one structure to another structure, from one level to another level of economic and social life. Although, there are subjective mistakes which, I also always emphasize that they are, and everyone makes mistakes. Therefore, regarding the situation that took shape, we arrived at a conclusion that today we could not maintain huge Armed Forces, the fleet that was passed over to us, say, all of a sudden, the entire fleet: 350 ships or something like that, because we could only be proud of possessing them, but they would be immobile. This is the absolute truth in this case. So, with regard to this, the stand is changing toward realism, toward our real opportunities.

In this situation I am convinced that Ukraine, which is today in such a complicated domestic and foreign situation, should seek the solution of issues, not by using force or by making hints about force, but only by means of reasonable compromises, relevant agreements that would neither aggravate the situation nor lead to confrontation, including first and foremost, with Russia. Because, when we think that the stand aimed at separation or isolation or something else may lead to peace and security guarantees for Ukraine, such a stand is groundless.

I have businesslike, working relations with the prime minister. I do not remember, and cannot give you an example of a country in such a difficult state, which is looking for ways to overcome the crisis and ways for its development, either market or any other development in which all would be like-minded people. Everyone has his own, say, vision of the problem, his possible solutions but one should not, probably, put the question in such a way that there should be like-minded people, because once all were like-minded and were united in a monolith, this is already in the past. Now it is necessary to speak, not about absolutely like-minded people, but so that there would be enough wisdom to find ways to solve the problems and, secondly, so that we ourselves and the environment would have enough wisdom not to submit these problems to the people, because someone desperately want the people to take sides. I have always favored the idea that all problems must be tackled in a working environment.

When the time comes for somebody to resign, or anything else, then this will be told in a civilized, reasonable context with relevant formulations. All the rest is just stirring up unhealthy talks around this. I ask you. This is not important today for Ukraine. What is important for Ukraine, I repeat this, is to find ways of solving the economic and political crisis, to emerge with flying

colors from the situation we found ourselves in. So, let us think together how to do this, how to find these ways.

[Moderator] The first microphone, please.

[Skachko] Volodymyr Skachko, HOLOS UKRAYINY. Leonid Makarovych: I have a question both from my newspaper and from a group of journalists, in particular those from the Russian section of Radio Freedom.

Having agreed to a possible transfer of our part of the Black Sea Fleet to Russia, we shall be forced into building our fleet, using our own funds, which means economic expenditure. A possible transfer of the strategic nuclear weapons will mean that we deprive ourselves of the possibility for Ukraine to be offered material compensation to eliminate them here, and that we forfeit guarantees from the Nuclear Club regarding our own security. This to a certain degree is the loss of our political prestige. So who will be responsible for this loss, after all?

Secondly, does the president have a program to settle all these issues? In the event that you do not have any program of your own, do you support the government program of action?

[Kravchuk] First, this is about sale, rather than transfer, which are different things altogether. We can do sales, and every state sells the weapons that it does not need. No one talked about transfer. That is the first thing.

Second, everybody knows that the fleet that is there now in the Black Sea Fleet, is mainly to serve internal Black Sea requirements, given the state it is in at present. To be honest, it cannot, let us say, perform serious strategic work outside the Black Sea. This is not a modern fleet. It is clear that we have to build modern ships. In order to build them, there should be funds. So these funds might as well be accumulated at the expense of selling the weapons that we do not need, to build new ships.

The thing is, that were a position to be taken of not selling anything that is ours, the following question arises: Where will the money come from to build new ships and new weapons which we will need? That is why I am favor of earning money in that way too, and making everything that we have reasonably sufficient in view of our strategic tasks and our economic possibilities. All this has to be taken into consideration. This is as far as the nature of this question is concerned. So let us not raise the question of transfer.

This is exactly what we have agreed upon: If it is agreed that Russia will make use of the infrastructure of Sevastopol, it will also be used in return for a payment, rather than free-of-charge. So this is about a normal financial settlement between states on the basis of existing world principles, rather than about transfer or someone giving something away to somebody. [indistinct voice in background]

The same applies to nuclear weapons. It is about compensation at prices that exist and are established. That is to say, Russia will take enriched Uranium and supply Ukraine with an equivalent amount of less-enriched uranium in accordance with calculations, as fuel—to be used as fuel for nuclear power plants. So, once again, it is about compensation, rather than transfer, and I do not see any difficulty here, because both the guarantee period and other terms are approaching the point at which this issue has to be settled. However, I would like to repeat that this will be decided after the ratification of the START I Treaty by the Supreme Council, although an agreement was adopted. The intergovernmental agreement on the procedure of carrying out the guarantee period and manufacturer's supervision of the operation of strategic missiles was adopted.

As for political guarantees, this issue has not been taken off the agenda of our relations with either Russia or other states. This issue is being tackled and probed and we have not, as it were, abandoned this position and shall insist on it.

As for the government program, it is written in the Constitution—I would still like you to read the Constitution now and then—that when a new government enters office, it submits a relevant program covering the term of its plenary powers to the president and Supreme Council.

The program in question is another kind. It is drawn up on instructions from the Supreme Council for a term of this year and 1994, since this is a program of stabilization and emergence from the crisis, the stabilization of the economy and the overcoming of the crisis. That is why I said at the Supreme Council: I think that there is the basis of this program. Some work on it still needs to be done and sound proposals put forward. It needs to be endorsed and work needs to be done in accordance with it.

According to the Constitution, the president does not submit a program of his activity to the Supreme Council. There is no such thing in the Constitution. Accordingly, the president makes reports on the domestic political situation, on the implementation of programs, and so on. This also is logical because it is the government that is formed by the Supreme Council and required by it to have a program. The president is elected by the people and can only present his program in his appearance, as it were, (?before the people), during voting.

Everything is logical then. Our trouble is that we often do not read the laws and Constitution and shift responsibility from one to another. So if someone votes at the Supreme Council for the president to come and carry out a program, you must know that he simply has not read the Constitution. Or when someone says: Give me an answer to this question immediately, he has not read the Constitution and laws either. Well, he just has not. That is the trouble with him. What can I do about him? Let him read then. Meanwhile, the impression being formed among the people is that he is the highest ranking person there, and can demand anything from anybody,

including from the president, whom he neither voted for nor appointed. Yet, he says: Let me have him here, for this is what I want. You see, how bold and clever he is: Summoning up the president himself to the Supreme Council, and the latter not turning up. It is written down in the Constitution, however, when the president attends the Supreme Council: It is either at his own wish, but not at the request of an individual deputy. This is so elementary and logical, but what can you do when they have not read the Constitution.

[Correspondent] UNIAN TV service. Mr. President, taking into account the results and the tone of your last meeting with Boris Yeltsin, do you still support the idea of an economic union with Russia, or has your position already changed? One more question again about Kuchma, but from a slightly different perspective. If Leonid Kuchma makes a statement about his resignation in the near future, do you intend to sign it, and from what considerations will you be proceeding when deciding to sign or not to sign such a document?

[Kravchuk] If you remember, the economic agreement went through a certain mimesis and an appropriate genesis. At the beginning, when we gathered in Belarus and Moscow, we discussed an economic union within the framework of the CIS. Then suddenly, the idea of a union of three came about. Now you are talking about a union of two. Respective intergovernmental documents, agreements, and treaties have been concluded between ourselves and Russia, and there are no problems of an economic union here. There is a problem with an economic union within the framework of the CIS. I expressed my position clearly in a speech in the Supreme Council. This position was broadcast and was published. So I simply do not want to repeat it so as not to waste time.

How will the prime minister proceed? I think that the prime minister will proceed according to the requirements of Ukraine's interests. Today Ukraine's interests demand that there should not be a government crisis. Everyone must work and resolve, first and foremost, the very complex economic issues, over which, according to the Constitution, the Cabinet of Ministers has direct responsibility—it bears direct responsibility before society, the Supreme Council, and the president. This is why I think the prime minister, the Presidium, and the government will be guided by this, not by some personal problems—everyone has them—but by the interests of Ukraine. If this happens then there will be no talk of any statement. There will be talk of constructive, practical, and coordinated work. In the long run I stress it is the right of the prime minister to decide how to proceed, although I would like this action to coincide with Ukraine's interests.

[Veresen] Mykola Veresen, BBC. Mr. President, please say whether or not the possible sale of the fleet means that Ukraine, as a matter of fact, lost the implementation of economic reforms to Russia and that Ukraine's policies both economic and political have gone totally bankrupt? Second, you said that you were interpreted [word indistinct] and this is why it is necessary to prompt you for the way out of the situation, but throughout three days we have not heard even a single statement from those around you and everybody was speaking in Massandra, both Russian and Ukrainian governmental officials, except for your press secretary who is never heard at all. [applause] I prompt you, and I see I enjoy some support, for the way out of the situation. Thanks.

[Kravchuk] Well, as far as I understood you gave a relevant assessment of the press secretary. I understood this and I took this into consideration. Regarding the fact that everyone was speaking, I really do not mind it and consider it to be normal when everybody is speaking and interpreting official documents, but I would not like these interpretations or assessments to be such that do not comply with reality because there are documents, there are protocols, and there are conversations. You see, when we sit for three, four, or five hours at these meetings, various proposals are put forth, both realistic and unrealistic and just proposals. After this they come out and start speaking as if everything that had been said there was already adopted. I just would like you and everyone to somehow master the culture of normal work. In other words, what is adopted is adopted, what is not adopted is not adopted but is going on as a discussion, as a proposal, as a protocol request. These are different things, and it is unnecessary to forbid someone to give instructions or make protocol notes and, proceeding from this, immediately make conclusions and analysis. This does no good, and the fact that such official statements, well thought-out statements, I would say, on the part of the president's press service are necessary, I agree with you but also I would not like hasty statements. Again, this does no good.

[Unidentified person] The question was also about whether the sale of the fleet meant the collapse of our [word indistinct].

[Kravchuk] Well, I do not think that such assessments are objective: If we sell part of the armaments then this will be a collapse of our state or economic reform. I do not think we must make assessments in such a way. There are great difficulties in implementing the reform with regard to the specific character of our economy and our political situation. There are mistakes that must be corrected and ways in which the solution of the problem should be searched for. This is imperative. But this does not in the least mean that we must keep those armaments and those ships which, in compliance with our strategic and other tasks, in the Black Sea included, are unnecessary or superfluous today. In other words, one has no direct relation with another one. Though, the crisis and the debt reflect on our political actions. When I was going to Zavidovo, I was going there against the background of the strike in Donbass, you know it was not easy to hold negotiations when there was no support but on the contrary, there was lack of support. Now I was

going when we had a debt. This must be taken into account, that one cannot stay aside from those problems we face in our life and take decisions without analyzing the real situation. For example, today we cannot solve the great many of those problems which exist without orienting ourselves to the market of the former Union states. We will be unable to do this today, as far as energy sources and other things are concerned. In the future other variants may become available and we will find them, they will exist, but now I am against rejecting this idea, this position, against saying that it is dangerous to Ukraine. I am for weighing everything and acting in compliance with our real possibilities.

[Moderator] The first microphone now.

[Naboka] Serhiy Naboka, RESPUBLIKA AGENCY. Mr. President: You declared today that there are certain tasks facing Ukraine on the Black Sea. What are the tasks that face the Ukrainian state on the Black Sea in a little greater detail, if you could?

[Kravchuk] The main task on the Black Sea is to guard the borders of Ukraine and protect its security in this region in the military and political sense. Its economic task also comes from the agreements that we concluded with the Black Sea region's states. You know that relevant documents were signed. These are economic issues.

They are intertwined. These issues ...[changes thought] In performing our military, political, and economic tasks on the Black Sea or in the Black Sea region, we will inevitably have relations with Russia, whether we want it or not, because it also is a Black Sea state and has its own interests there. Today, it should be taken into consideration so as for us not to oppose each other in [pursuing] our interests but make them agree on the basis of our real political, military, and economic possibilities.

[Moderator] The second microphone, please.

[Fomenko] Fomenko, PRAVDA UKRAYINY. Two short questions: At the end of the news conference in Massandra, Yeltsin stated that a session of the CIS Heads of State on economic reform was postponed from 7th to 24th of September. Whose initiative was it and what was it done for? This is the first thing. Second, what will happen if our Supreme Council does not give the go-ahead for [part] of the fleet to be sold?

[Kravchuk] Most briefly, I would like to answer the second question: If it does not, we shall not sell it. [applause]

It is clear, after all, that no one can do anything if the document is not ratified. Executive power fulfills the Constitution and laws approved by the Supreme Council.

Regarding the postponement, Boris Nikolayevich [Yeltsin] and I did discuss this issue, and came to the conclusion that there were still a lot of problems to be coordinated. Right there, in Massandra, I had a telephone conversation with [Kazakh President Nursultan] Nazarbayev, [Turkmen President Saparmurad] Niyazov, and I also telephoned [Uzbek President Islam] Karimov, who at that time was somewhere on an assignment, and other leaders. We agreed that a whole number of consultations [to reach] agreements still had to be held, including in Ukraine. You know that the discussion of this issue has already started. If not discussed, it has been tabled at the Supreme Council. So we have to determine clearly our position on these issues and then hold a conference. In other words, this issue was settled following agreements reached accordingly between other heads of state, rather than by Yeltsin or Kravchuk.

[Maystrenko] Maystrenko Oleh, RUKH-PRES. Esteemed Mr. President. Are you going to resign after you betrayed Ukraine? As was asked by the people's Rukh [Ukrainian People's Movement], and other opposition parties. Thanks.

[Kravchuk] Well, parties, like you, may have their points of view. I would only like you to abide by elementary etiquette in relations with the president because, unfortunately, you do not have this etiquette, and this does not testify to your culture and does not in the least testify to tolerant relations between us because I could give an answer immediately concerning the form of your question, but my education does not allow me to do this to you.

You feel free to do this. Well, I think such things must be assessed according to results. Again I remind you: Where do you see betrayal? Because such things are spread around, in the street cars, especially if they want this. And I already see who wants this. Where is the betrayal? Is it in the fact that a protocol instruction was given to study this issue? If you said that the president went and sold everything, it would be a different thing. Again, I draw attention to this fact all the time, read documents and you are deaf to this because you are tuned to another wave band. You have positively different tasks. No matter how much I say, and what I say, I do not expect that you and those like you will hear me. I do not expect this, but I hope that the people will live and Ukraine will live and you, with your political parties, will draw a conclusion somewhat later. If you are a mouthpiece of political parties, I do not know who entrusted you. Maybe they held a gathering and entrusted you, then you talk about this. Or, maybe, some specific party? I do not want to engage in a debate with you, at least, on the issue that you cannot behave properly.

[Correspondent] On Friday, 3 September President Yeltsin declared, and the entire world heard these words, that the agreements were signed. Today, on Monday, 8 September [as heard] I ask you, I would also like to hope that the entire world will hear these words: have these agreements been signed?

[Kravchuk] Which ones? I have told you which have been signed: A joint communique has been signed, this is one document, an intergovernmental agreement on the procedure of carrying out a guarantee and author's

supervision over the operation and an intergovernmental agreement and the main principles of utilizing nuclear ammunition of the strategic nuclear forces stationed in Ukraine. Three documents have been signed.

[Correspondent] On the division of the fleet and on granting Sevastopol on lease.

[Kravchuk] No documents whatsoever on the division of the fleet, on the transfer of the fleet [were signed], and Yeltsin did not say this. Yeltsin did say that the question was discussed and we agreed to set up a state commission. I heard this myself, what Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin was saying both in the Crimea and in an interview. Do not misinterpret the president of Russia. No other agreements were signed. I repeat this: Protocol instructions were given as far as the fleet and nuclear forces are concerned. State commissions will be set up. They will make conclusions. After this decisions will be taken. Which decisions? Then we will discuss them. Now, one more thing and that is it. Please.

[Moderator] The second microphone.

[Correspondent] The question is: Even if these are ratified—I beg your pardon—even if these accords are ratified, it is only natural that Sevastopol will become the base of the Russian Black Sea Fleet. In future, what place do you see as our base, that of the Ukrainian Navy? Thank you.

[Kravchuk] Well, no issue was raised of a permanent base in Sevastopol. The issue was raised, however, of the Russian Navy using the infrastructure, i.e. using it as a base rather than making Sevastopol a permanent base. No such issue was raised in our conversations and our instructions. I would like to emphasize the words using in accordance with international principles.

That is why, if we both have enough political wisdom and take well-considered steps to keep hold of the situation in the Crimea and in Sevastopol without letting passions fly, knowing that no issue has ever been settled yet with the help of force without harm to the people and given that we do not, let us say, even have any great force out there in the Crimea, then I am convinced it will be possible to talk both about Sevastopol as the base of the Ukrainian Black Sea Fleet, and about other regions.

Today, a period of transition is under way, and we have to take such a decision that would correspond with the situation without exacerbating it.

[Kravchuk] The last microphone, please.

[Moderator] The third microphone.

[Correspondent] The newspaper NEZAVISIMOST. Esteemed Mr. President: Could you tell us, please, what your prediction is as to how the state commission will work? What is your forecast and what are you expecting? This is the first thing. Second, everybody has long since noticed that your relations with the prime minister are not quite steady. In such cases there always is number two. Who is in your plans? Thank you. [laughter]

[Kravchuk] I appreciate the degree of your interest concerning relations between the state leaders. I cannot, however, cite, let us say, any specific examples of the prime minister and I squabbling or us having, as it were, any other relations that, as you say, would not be steady.

Tell me, for example, by way of returning to real facts, since this issue has already left everybody with a black eye and an aching tongue, as it were. Let us say, the government was granted emergency powers in—it seems to me—December of last year, emergency powers, i.e. the right to issue decrees. For half a year the government had the plenary powers that the president has never had and, I think, will never have. I would like to repeat—that the president has never had and will never have. In accordance with the Constitution, decrees adopted by the government could only be canceled by the parliament itself. The president is vested with no such right, not even that of vetoing. Think about it: Whereas the president can veto a law by the Supreme Council because he signs laws, he cannot do this with a decree because he does not sign it. That is to say, the government had plenary powers considerably greater than those of the president. Even now, when issuing edicts, I make references to decrees by the cabinet of ministers, although the latter, as is written in the Constitution, is subordinate to the president.

Could you tell me this, please: Have I ever spoken against the prime minister or government as to the decrees that they adopted? I have said that this practice, unfortunately, did not yield good results. Had it done so, I would have said so. However, it did not. So had I said that it did yield some results when it did not, maybe you would then have not raised this question.

Thus, I have supported the government in its practical actions. I am supporting it now in its actions on reform and those concerning the principle that money should be earned to make payments and that constructive ways should be found for issues to be settled. My opinion is that I will further be doing so actively. I do not have any problems with the government here.

Tell me this: When the government does not do everything, does something wrong, or is not able to ensure what has to be ensured, what shall I do? Do I have to avoid giving things their proper names? Well I do give them their proper names, which does not at all mean that I am against the government. I would say that it is so and not any other way. In other words, I can make an appropriate assessment; I have the right to do so, according to the Constitution. So why can I not do this?

There is no need to draw the conclusion that I am against the government on the basis of the fact that I make remarks or assessments. I seek to give things their proper names. Believe me when I say that I have not considered the issue of someone, as you say, replacing the prime minister at all. This question has not been raised in those

terms. Let us not rush too much ahead of time. When it is raised, it will be raised officially and you will know about it. It is not something that can be done furtively or that can be done in-house [v tsekhu].

This is the state, and everything in the state is done officially. An application, if any, will be made. It will be submitted by the Supreme Council because, in accordance with the Constitution, consent to resignation is given by the Supreme Council rather than by a presidential decree. Have a read. That is why it will be submitted for consideration by the Supreme Council, which will or will not accept it, which is the right of the Supreme Council. If it does, provided there is such an application—once again I am making a prediction, in your words—then the issue of the prime minister will arise. Now, however, there is not any such issue.

I would like everybody to work constructively and to find ways to settle complex and difficult issues of ours that have come about. Trust me when I say that today this is most important.

And yet, despite all the difficulties, despite (?opposing) forces in society, politics, and parties, in spite of all this the press has to dig out the truth and write about what there is in reality, about real facts and documents. This does not instill stability in society. I would like to say that I am absolutely convinced that, unfortunately, we have forces both on the right and on the left that want our society to be deprived of stability.

The forces on the left have assembled and said: We look at overthrowing the president as our greatest task. This is the extreme left wing.

The extreme right wing now is fanning the flame, saying that the president has already done the sale and is a traitor and that the time has come also to overthrow the president. Trust me when I say that some time will pass and both will unite. Even now, the extreme Communists, former secretaries of city and district committees of the party, are casting the same vote as those who think that they did their time for Ukraine. They have agreed on the main thing: It is the president who is now an eyesore to them. He is in their way, not letting them do what they want to, so they want to overthrow him.

Some at least understand what they want and they have my respect for the fact that they do understand it and that they are firmly heading toward overthrow. But there are people who do not understand this and are rushing now to the left and now to the right. The result, however, will be the same.

The issue today is not the name of President Kravchuk, but that we have to maintain peace in Ukraine. If we do this, we will perform all the tasks, both economic and political ones. We will overcome the crisis and have our independence. If we do not do this, we will decide nothing.

However, this is a voice in the wilderness to a certain bedlam section of our political society. It sets itself another task and does not and will not ever hear me. But what I am saying is not something to be heard by that section but by the people, for them to listen and stop those whose fingers now itch a great deal, albeit their tongues having long since been lost. Thank you for your attention.

Foreign Ministry Issues Statement on Talks

WS0609162693 Kiev Ukrayinske Radio First Program Network in Ukrainian 1400 GMT 6 Sep 93

[Text] During the last few days, Russian and other foreign mass media have been disseminating information that on 3 September 1993, during the Russian-Ukrainian summit, the Ukrainian part of the Black Sea Fleet and its onshore infrastructure was sold to the Russian Federation, and that final agreement on the removal of strategic nuclear weaponry from Ukrainian territory was reached. The Ukrainian Foreign Ministry has been authorized to announce that the information does not conform with the actual situation. It is intolerable that certain accords of protocol nature are described by mass media as statute agreements.

During the Crimean negotiations, the Russian side put forward a new proposal to purchase the Ukrainian portion of the Black Sea Fleet. As a result, government delegations of both countries received a protocol recommendation to examine the possibility of selling the Ukrainian part of the fleet to the Russian Federation and leasing some onshore facilities on Ukrainian territory. Delegations should prepare appropriate proposals, and after that, the issue will be evaluated from political, economic, and financial aspects. The issue of stationing the Black Sea Fleet will not be submitted to additional negotiations. Agreements on strategic nuclear weaponry located on Ukrainian territory include first principles of delivering nuclear charges and compensation for them. Agreement on such compensation was reached during the meeting of the prime ministers of the two countries. Press, television, and radio statements of some Russian officials have gone far beyond the real agreements that were reached on 3 September in Crimea. This has caused misunderstanding of the Ukrainian delegation's position during this meeting. Such statements distort the essence of the negotiations and do not contribute to the solution of the problems of relations between the two countries.

More on Foreign Ministry Statement

LD0609164293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1535 GMT 6 Sep 93

[By unidentified UKRINFORM correspondent for TASS]

[Text] Kiev, 6 Sep—"It is impermissible when certain understandings that have been reached and moreover that are at the protocol stage, are arbitrarily interpreted and presented as final decisions with the help of the mass

media," reads a statement by the Ukrainian Ministry of Foreign Affairs circulated today in connection with the coverage by several mass media of the Ukrainian-Russian summit in the Crimea.

"During the talks in the Crimea, Russia brought out a new proposal according to which it was ready to buy the Ukrainian part of the Black Sea Fleet. As a result of the meeting, the two presidents issued protocol instructions to the state delegations of Ukraine and the Russian Federation to examine within a month the issue of the comprehensive settlement of the problem of the Black Sea Fleet, whereby part of the Ukrainian fleet could be sold to the Russian Federation and part of the coastal infrastructure on the territory of Ukraine could be handed over for use on contractual terms. The delegations are due to submit the relevant proposals after which the issue will be examined as a whole, taking into consideration all political, economic, financial and other aspects," the statement notes. "A separate issue in this context is that of the Black Sea Fleet base, which should be examined bearing in mind international legal practice on the basis of appropriate contractual principles, and which is to be the subject of additional talks."

"The agreements on the strategic nuclear weapons located in the Ukraine contain basic principles of the recycling of nuclear weapons and compensation for them, while these recycling and compensation can only take place after the START I treaty has been ratified by the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet. Ukraine considers these agreements only in conjunction with the question of Russia paying compensation for the value of the tactical nuclear weapons withdrawn from its territory. An accord on such compensation being granted to Ukraine was reached at the talks of the two states' prime ministers."

It is being pointed out that arbitrary interpretations of officials' statements by the press distort both the content of the talks which have just been held, and the spirit and letter of the accord reached in the Crimea, and do not contribute to resolving the complex problems which the two countries are facing in their relations.

Kravchuk Meets PRC's Qian Qichen, Visiting Delegation

LD0609180893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1753 GMT 6 Sep 93

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Aleksey Petrunya for TASS]

[Text] Kiev September 6 TASS—President Leonid Kravchuk of Ukraine received on Monday Qian Qichen, vice-premier of the State Council and foreign minister of the People's Republic of China.

In a warm atmosphere, the two leaders openly discussed various issues concerning the development of Ukrainian-Chinese relations in diverse fields.

Both parties voiced their assurance that their bilateral relations would develop and deepen.

China plays a tremendous role in the world politics, and Ukraine is interested in maintaining good relations with it, Kravchuk said.

The Chinese and the Ukrainian nations have always had friendly relations, Qian Qichen said.

After President Kravchuk paid a visit to Beijing and signed important Ukrainian-Chinese agreements, a new impetus was given to the development of the bilateral relations, the Chinese foreign minister noted.

Remarkably, the Chinese official arrived in Kiev on Monday aboard a Ukrainian airlines plane which had made the first flight over the route Kiev-Beijing-Kiev.

On Tuesday, Qian Qichen is to meet Ukrainian Parliament Speaker Ivan Plyushch, First Vice-Premier Yefim Zvyagilsky and Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zleyenko and participate in the ceremony of opening the Chinese Embassy in Ukraine.

FRY's Jovanovic Discusses Sanctions With Ministers

LD0609183993 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1653 GMT 6 Sep 93

[Text] Kiev, 6 Sep (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic had talks in Kiev today with Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko, Deputy Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Viktor Hladush, and Transport Minister Orest Klympush.

The participants paid most attention to the situation in former Yugoslavia, particularly to the conflict in Bosnia, sanctions against Yugoslavia, and the normalization of relations between former Yugoslav republics.

Minister Jovanovic informed his hosts about the causes of the break-up of the Geneva negotiations and prospects for their resumption.

He laid particular stress on the resolute and consistent policy of Yugoslavia which is directed toward the restoration of peace and the settlement of the conflict in Bosnia.

Ukrainian Minister Zlenko and other hosts showed understanding for Minister Jovanovic's claim that Yugoslavia cannot be held responsible for the Muslim-Croat fighting in Bosnia, nor should it bear the consequences of the unjust sanctions caused by the undermining of the peaceful settlement of the problem.

The Ukrainian side reiterated that Ukraine has suffered huge damage due to the sanctions against Yugoslavia and it is therefore very interested in the restoration of peace and abolition of the sanctions as soon as possible. Without waiting for them to be abolished, Ukraine will, it has been hinted, initiate an action in New York for the alleviation of the negative consequences of the sanctions.

The hosts reiterated their interest in continuing to work on furthering economic relations and cooperation with Yugoslavia, as soon as the sanctions are lifted.

During the talks the need for timely drafting of concrete projects and bilateral agreements, particular in the areas of trade, long-term economic cooperation, and transport, was stressed, so that mutual cooperation can start in full swing as soon as the sanctions are lifted.

The Ukrainian deputy minister for economic relations with foreign countries and the transport minister accepted the invitation to visit Yugoslavia as soon as conditions are favorable.

Ukraine expressed its readiness to support Yugoslavia's joining the regional cooperation of the Black Sea countries after the end of the conflict in Bosnia and after the lifting of the sanctions.

Ministers Jovanovic and Zlenko agreed to continue the talks at the forthcoming session of the UN General Assembly in New York.

Both sides underlined that for a stable and speedy development of bilateral relations and cooperation, it is important to establish full diplomatic relations between Yugoslavia and Ukraine.

This was the first visit to Ukraine by Vladislav Jovanovic, the Yugoslav foreign minister, since this country gained independence after the break-up of the Soviet Union. The visit was initiated by both sides.

Possible Consequences of NATO Membership Reviewed

WS0309130693 Lvov POST-POSTUP in Ukrainian 30 Aug 93 p 4

[Article by Vadym Halynovskyy, UNIAN correspondent: "Ukraine in NATO: Equal Partner or Cannon Fodder?"]

[Text] The visit to Ukraine by Supreme NATO Allied Commander Paul Miller set off new speculation that our country might enter that North Atlantic alliance. As recently as several months ago, Ukraine's membership in NATO was merely a baseless wish of certain members of Ukrainian officialdom—the NATO leadership was not excited by the prospect of expanding the organization by adding a new partner from East Europe. However, the attitude toward Ukraine has recently changed quite radically. In July, Douglas Hogg, deputy minister of defense in Great Britain, which plays an important role in the North Atlantic security system—earlier, a Ukrainian delegation had visited NATO Headquarters in Brussels. [sentence as published]

What made the NATO leadership alter its position on Ukraine? Apparently, this was the result of several factors. First, the unpredictability of Russian actions (especially after the recent decision by its legislature) prompted the West to perceive Ukraine as a possible stabilization force in East Europe. Second, gradual rapprochement of Ukraine with Middle Eastern countries, particularly Iran, which is not in the interests of the West, forced it to seek ways of hastening the process of Ukraine's integration into the Atlantic structures—both military and nonmilitary.

As is known, the NATO was established to counteract possible Soviet aggression. Following the demise of the Warsaw Pact, it found itself faced with the need to find new spheres of activity. At present, NATO is trying to obtain a mandate from the United Nations to carry out peace-keeping missions in local areas of conflict. If Ukraine joins NATO, it should not be ruled out that Ukrainian troops might be used as cannon fodder in UN-sanctioned NATO intervention in regional conflicts. Even today, Ukrainian soldiers from the UN peace-keeping force near Sarajevo are dying, which mounts serious objections to the expediency of Ukraine's participation in such activities.

Certain doubts, concerning the sincerity of NATO's plans toward Ukraine, increase the enthusiasm expressed by the North Atlantic bloc after hearing news of the Ukrainian president's decision to combine the Air Force and Air-Protection Force. This kind of combination hampers, to a certain degree, combat activities that can be conducted outside our country, and hence renders impossible not so much aggressive policies (Israel also has combined Air Forces) as the protection of national interests outside the region. Obviously, the NATO leadership is not interested in a strong Ukraine with its own views on the situation, and assigns it a second-rate position.

During the Cold War, NATO was one of the most powerful champions of U.S. policy in Western Europe. Despite substantial objections, Europe was interested in the American "nuclear umbrella" extending over the western half of the continent. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, friction between the United States and its European allies deepened. Germany and France, so far within NATO, formed a joint 40,000-strong military unit meant to serve as a model of a European system of defense. The Clinton administration, in turn, has scaled down its financial and military commitments to its European partners—about 200,000 American troops will soon leave the continent. Given the circumstances, it is possible that European members of NATO, Germany in the first place, will try to influence Ukraine behind the Americans' back.

A considerable part of Ukraine's military command considers Germany as either a possible ally or the country with which we should establish broad military cooperation. Ukraine occupies a serious place in the German geopolitical concept of building the "Middle Europe," which is supposed to cover the eastern flank of the pro-German Middle European bloc. However, Ukraine's nuclear weapons stand in the way of further rapprochement between the two powerful European states. This was unequivocally declared by [German

Defense Minister] Volker Ruehe during his visit to Ukraine. Bonn appears to fear that a nuclear Ukraine might seize the initiative in settling "Middle Europe."

Ukraine's admission to NATO would surely put an end to Russian encroachments on its sovereignty. But is this too dear a price for the country's security? Is it not time that Ukraine renounced its orientation toward the West and turned toward the South, which has been playing an ever-increasing role in international politics of late?

NATO Delegation Arrives in Kiev for Talks

LD0309211693 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 3 Sep 93

[Excerpts] A NATO delegation arrived in Kiev on 3 September on a working visit. It includes a number of high-ranking officials in this organization. [passage omitted]

The main aspects of the cooperation program are joint peacekeeping efforts, active cooperation in the area of science and environmental protection, and economic partnership. Great attention will be paid to the joint training of officers. It is particularly important for Ukraine as it participates in the settlement of the military conflict in former Yugoslavia. Other issues of common interest will also be discussed.

National Affairs

Kravchuk Reportedly Agrees To Accept Kuchma's Resignation

LD0309205393 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1955 GMT 3 Sep 93

[Text] Kiev [no date as received]—An UNIAN correspondent has just been informed by confidential sources that Ukraine President Leonid Kravchuk has agreed to allow Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma to resign at his own request. The president is to sign a relevant decree in the near future. According to Ukraine's Constitution, the resignation of the head of the cabinet of ministers must receive the consent of the Supreme Council, which will begin its eighth session on 21 September.

Kravchuk's Acceptance Not Confirmed

LD0609100893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0946 GMT 6 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yefim Shvartsman]

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—Press secretary of the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers Dmitriy Tabachnik told ITAR-TASS that Ukrainian Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma had formally requested resignation in a message sent to President Leonid Kravchuk last Saturday. Tabachnik was responding to ITAR-TASS' request to comment on the Ukrainian television's Sunday night report that the president had agreed to the premier's resignation.

Asked for confirmation of the Ukrainian news agency UNIAN's report that the presidential decree on Kuchma's resignation was ready for release, the Ukrainian Government spokesman said the message had been sent to the president with all appropriate formalities required in such cases, but at 13.00 Moscow time on Monday, September 6, no formal notification about the president's reaction had been made available to the press office. Tabachnik said he was not aware of any conversation between Kuchma and Kravchuk after the prime minister's resignation had been filed.

Kuchma Denies Resignation Statement

LD0609124593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1220 GMT 6 Sep 93

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Kiev, 6 Sep—Leonid Kuchma, Prime Minister of Ukraine, stated in an interview with an ITAR-TASS correspondent that last Saturday, 4 September, "he did not make any official statements to anyone about resigning." He said this in connection with information which was transmitted, citing the Ukrainian independent information agency (UNIAN), claiming that Leonid Kuchma had handed in his resignation.

Leonid Kuchma told the ITAR-TASS correspondent "this question was examined at the Presidium of the Cabinet of Minister of Ukraine on Saturday." However, "taking account of the approaching meeting of heads of government of the CIS countries," it was considered to be inadvisable to take such steps in this situation.

Kuchma Seen Trapped in Economic Policy 'Stalemate'

PM0309125593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Sep 93 First Edition p 2

[Report by Vasiliy Zorya: "Ukrainian Prime Minister Favors Emergency Powers, Opposes State Of Emergency"]

[Text] Kiev—When submitting for discussion by the Supreme Council a program of emergency government measures to escape from the economic crisis, Ukrainian Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma urged people's deputies to set about devising a new constitution, giving legislative power to the president until March 1994 and all executive power to the government.

Leonid Kuchma swept aside accusations that he was bent on introducing a state of emergency in Ukraine. The prime minister said that in the very difficult conditions he was asking for no more than emergency economic powers with a "simplified procedure for the dismissal of heads of managerial structures who are not implementing the unified center's decisions." Vice Premier Viktor Pinzenik, who has submitted his resignation, pointed out at the national press club that we should be talking about an econonic dictatorship, in which a small

number of highly skilled leaders carries out swift economic reforms using strong-arm methods. A protege of the prime minister, V. Pinzenik said on leaving that he did not want to be damned for decisions he opposed. Namely, fixing the rate of the karbovanets against hard currency, which caused panic on the exchanges; the unwarranted raising of bread prices, which will soon result in an inflation surge; and the innumerable unrevokable quotas and licenses which are a curb on exports, primarily to Russia. At the cost of the vice premier's resignation all these decisions were torpedoed in the government's program for the next six months.

The final version of it was opposed by the advocates of administrative regulation of the economy, who include both advisers of Kuchma and people's deputies. The National Bank had its own particular stance. It does not want be run by the Cabinet of Ministers or to have to coordinate with the government steps on issuing credit. But following Pinzenik's political step, the program's chances have increased somewhat, since the former vice premier managed to draw attention to the vast amount Ukraine owes for energy sources, while Ukrainian enterprises are rapidly losing markets for the sale of products in near-neighbor countries.

They also managed to get into the program wholesale privatization of trade, taxing of profits instead of taxing of an enterprise's income, and the switch to a monetary unit by the sole means of supporting it with new volumes of commodities, that is, the property of state enterprises and land, and the lifting of as many export restrictions as possible.

In their discussion of the program, the Ukrainian people's deputies severely criticized the prime minister, even proposing a vote of no confidence in his government. As is known, Leonid Kuchma has twice now offered to resign, first at the end of May, when parliament failed to extend his government's emergency powers. His second letter of resignation has not yet been revoked, incidentally. Nonetheless, the people's deputies refused to approve Kuchma's resignation, although 10 days ago, at the celebrations in Kiev in aid of the second anniversary of the proclamation of Ukrainian independence, Supreme Soviet Chairman Ivan Plyushch summed it up in no uncertain terms: "It is the third Ukrainian government that has failed to embark on the path of dynamic transformations." It is getting to the point where Ukrainian Prime Minister Kuchma, as he himself admits, will be seeking a way out of the stalemate—in which his hands are tied and, moreover, they will not let him out of the government—in international law.

Supreme Council Said To Have Put Kuchma 'On Trial'

PM0609141593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Sep 93 First Edition p 7

[Boris Sverdlov "Commentary": "Battle in Ukrainian Parliament Echoes Chaos at Store Counters"]

[Excerpts] Kiev—Yet another furor in Ukraine. After rumors of sharp price rises arrived from the city, a crush immediately formed at the counters. [passage omitted]

At the Supreme Council session, instead of discussing the government program for stabilizing the financial system and the republic's economy, deputies virtually put the prime minister on trial. Apparently his government has ruined the state and he himself, do you see, has asked for additional powers. He wants to crush the entire executive.

But I do not think that it was by this that L. Kuchma offended the parliamentary auditorium. He simply does not see any solution to economic failure without close cooperation with Russia and without a more effective Supreme Council. This is why, shortly before the session, he publicly supported the demands by Donetsk miners to hold a referendum on confidence in parliament and the president. Leonid Danilovich saw from the first days of coming to the post of head of government that he would get nowhere with the present deputies. More than 70 economic draft laws submitted for ratification in the Supreme Council have been kept under wraps for a long time.

Incidenally, at the current session nationalistic parliamentarians read Russia the riot act: For its alleged imperialist manners, for its efforts to undermine the young independent state, for the devaluation of the coupon... Others, despite the calculations of leading economists, believe that it is not Ukraine that owes trillions of rubles for fuel, but its eastern neighbor that owes Ukraine for the transportation of gas for export purposes across its territory. The Ministry of the Economy had to come forward with a special report which set out the figures in their columns for ministers, as if for first-graders. And still there was no decrease in the number of skeptics.

Today many are asking themselves the question: Will L. Kuchma be able to withstand the combined offensive of those who accuse the government of not allowing Ukraine to become a flourishing state? One would like to believe that he will. In the last few months Leonid Danilovich has become a true fighter. And he is stoutly holding up to the blows of criticism. Especially since he is perfectly well aware that no good will come of Ukraine's isolation in the circumstances of the current eastern integration. Even another, more talented government would be obliged to begin by darning the holes which have appeared in relations with Russia. Whether the premier will voluntary resign in the event of the Supreme Council's refusing to grant him additional powers is another matter. As he put it on the eve of the session, he will not be held responsible for reforms that are not subject to his control.

Defense Ministry Studies Feasibility of Space-Missile Force

LD0309215293 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1955 GMT 3 Sep 93

[Text] Kiev, [no date as received]—According to a directive by Ukrainian Defense Minister Kostyantyn Morozov, a number of Defense Ministry and general headquarters directorates have launched an inquiry into the feasibility of setting up Ukrainian missile and space forces. The need for such an inquiry arose after Ukraine's armed forces inherited from the Soviet Army part of the USSR antimissile defense system, several land-based space surveillance stations, and two ships with a similar task, attached to the port of Odessa. Experts believe that these objects can be used in satellite communications, sea navigation, and meteorology. Cooperation with NATO or Russian systems would be necessary to use the technology for military purposes.

The results of the inquiry will be submitted to Ukraine's defense minister by 15 September.

Parties Send 'Open Letter' to Kravchuk

AU0709103593 Kiev NARODNA HAZETA in Ukrainian No. 34 (115) Sep 93 p 3

["Open letter" to President Leonid Kravchuk from Ukraine's Democratic Party, the Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists, Ukraine's Green Party, and the Ukrainian Republican Party; place and date not given: "On the Trends in Ukraine's Economic Cooperation"]

[Text] Dear Leonid Makarovych,

Proceeding from the fact that the CIS tends to become transformed into a closed economic commonwealth, it may be expected that a so- called Eurasian Economic Union will ultimately take shape throughout the former USSR in the near future. Even at its embryonic stage, this union has already acquired a distinct political coloring. The attempt to draw Ukraine and Belarus into an economic union is Russia's first step toward its creation. Under these conditions, Ukraine must make a historic choice—whether to become one of the founders of this commonwealth (as was the case in 1922 during the formation of the USSR) or to make a step toward an integration with post-communist countries of Eastern Europe and, in the future, find its own place in a united Europe.

However, is it generally possible to talk about any kind of union with a permanently unstable partner that has to deal with endless ethnic, religious, and territorial problems, which will sooner or later begin to be resolved at the price of spilling human blood? Do those who praise without sufficient economic justification the dubious advantages of Ukraine's participation in this union and assert pharisaically that there is no other way out for us think about this?

In our opinion, the road toward a stable and wealthy Ukraine is through a profound transformation of our economy into a market one with priority being given to private ownership, through a financial monetary reform, intensive restructuring, adoption of an energy- saving technology, and intensification of the internal cooperation. For this, it is necessary to start without delay the elaboration and implementation of corresponding state programs.

It is necessary, first and foremost, to expand bilateral and mutually advantageous ties with both western and eastern countries, including Russia. This type of cooperation is exemplified by signing a series of agreements and introducing free trade with Lithuania.

Particular attention must be given to developing interstate cooperation and concluding economic agreements with post-communist countries of Eastern Europe, with which we already have experience with such cooperation within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

Taking into account the insignificant differences in the levels of economic development, the close-by location, and the availability of a developed economic infrastructure in our and those other states, we find it expedient to begin work on organizing a Baltic-Black Sea regional economic cooperation based on the ties among the post-communist countries of Eastern Europe, Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova, and the Baltic states.

Tajikistan

Rakhmanov Delivers Address to Judiciary Employees

LD0409012393 Dushanbe Radio Tajikistan Network in Tajik 1700 GMT 3 Sep 93

[Text] Supreme Soviet Chairman Imamali Rakhmanov met today with judiciary employees and procurators in the conference hall of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic. Mukhammad Ubaydullayev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, Justice Minister Ismoilov, Supreme Court Chairman Mamedov, and others attended the meeting.

In their speeches the participants spoke about the activities and problems facing the judicial, procuracy, and notary departments of the towns and rayons of the Republic. Our correspondent Karim Aziz reports on the meeting.

[Aziz] Dear listeners, head of state Imamali Sharifovich Rakhmanov met today with the employees of the judiciary and procurators in the conference hall of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tajikistan. Speaking at this meeting, he said in part:

[Begin Rakhmanov recording] Dear comrades, employees of the judiciary and procurators: It will be two years since we established our independent and sovereign state. Unfortunately, however, we had a lot of difficulties during these two years of independence. The most dreadful event which has happened in our Republic is the fratricidal war, which has paralyzed the state structure. We will never forget the memory of those employees of the judiciary and those procurators who have sacrificed their lives to restore the constitutional government. We have to realize that the position and the authority of the employees of the judiciary and the procurators in ensuring justice, the law, human rights, and the fight against corruption and crime is crucial and decisive.

An independent state can only function as a living organism when its main pillars continue to be based on justice and ruth. The procuracy bodies enjoy a special position among all the law enforcement bodies because only the procurators are the final [word indistinct] in their activities. Hence their responsibilities are double. That is why the Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Tajikistan, along with the Committee of the Supreme Soviet on Legislation, Law and Order, and Human Rights and the General Procurator's office, has prepared a number of draft laws on the legal status of the procurators and the structure of the procurator's offices and the General Procurator's Office of the Republic of Tajikistan and has submitted them to the Supreme Soviet. We hope these drafts will be submitted for discussion and adoption at the next regular session of the Supreme Soviet and (?will be approved).

Among the issues that constitute the basis for the creation of a law governed state is that of ensuring the independence of the procurator's offices in general and the procurators in particulars. In this respect, we ought to learn from the experience of the developed countries of the world and use them widely. To ensure the complete independence of the procurators, we have to first think about an increase in their salaries, their social welfare, and the methods of appointment, selection, and dismissal.

The Republic's Ministry of Justice will soon submit the necessary proposals in this regard to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and to the government. Of course, in view of all the difficulties facing the Republic, we ought to make every effort for proper conditions to be provided to ensure justice in the localities. The executive committees of the local soviets ought to actively take part in this. I think that to ensure the independence of the procuracy, the method of appointing procurators has to be changed, and the Ministry of Justice has to play a special role in this. In this ministry there are possibilities, although not many, of training cadres.

In the present situation in the Republic, ensuring the security of the procurators constitutes one of the fundamental elements of their independence. The Ministry of Internal Affairs and the National Security Committee have to think about this matter seriously. [words indistinct] Among the duties of the ministry are the preparation of draft laws, the (?agitation) of rights among the population, the registration of social associations, and legal work in the fields of the national economy.

Of course, it should be said that taking into account the formation of the independent state of Tajikistan and the need for a central body where all legal issues can be resolved, the Ministry of Justice has to change its appearance. I fully believe that the Ministry of Justice will find its position in the system of administration and law enforcement bodies and will be transformed into one of the main structures in the creation of a law governed state. [end recording]

Rakhmanov Favors New Constitution, Early Elections

LD0509135593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1051 GMT 5 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe, 5 Sep—Tajikistan's Supreme Council Chairman Imamali Rakhmanov has come out in favor of adopting the Republic's new constitution as soon as possible, and has stressed that this is an important element in building a democratic, secular, and law-based state. The speaker of the Tajik Supreme Council announced this at a session of the Constitutional Commission for drawing up the draft of the Republic's new basic law.

Imamali Rakhmanov was positive in his assessment of the efforts of the working group for drawing up the draft which, in his opinion, had absorbed the experience of several of the world's democratic countries with various state structures, and also included a clause on the universal declaration of human rights and other international acts, taking into account the national, philosophical, and religious outlook of the Tajik people.

Until the new constitution is adopted, and until the laws currently in force are reviewed on the basis of it, in the words of Imamali Rakhmanov, Tajikistan will encounter political, social, and economic difficulties. On the subject of holding early elections to the Tajik Supreme Council, the head of Tajikistan said that he personally was in favor of holding them and noted, however, that this depended on a complete stabilization of the country's sociopolitical situation, the disarmament of all illegal armed formations without exception, and the confiscation of weapons which were still in sufficient numbers among the population.

Before the elections, the repatriation of all Tajik refugees from Afghanistan must also be completed and their personal safety guaranteed in the places to which they return.

Rakhmanov Views Situation on Independence Anniversary

LD0609095493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0925 GMT 6 Sep 93

[By TIA-KHOVAR correspondent Khegmat Ochilov for TASS]

[Text] Dushanbe September 6 TASS—Tajikistan parliament Chairman Imamali Rakhmanov told the Tajik news agency KHOVAR that the past two years saw more grief and suffering than other countries have seen in hundreds of years. Rakhmanov was speaking ahead of the second anniversary of the Republic's independence day marked on September 9.

The senseless fratricidal war unleashed by a group of adventure-seekers claimed tens of thousands of human lives, Rakhmanov said. These losses cannot be recovered. The Republic found itself thrown many years back, but the people drew the correct conclusion from the tragic events and have opted for the building of a truly democratic secular society, he stressed.

Tajikistan is pursuing a peaceful foreign policy which has been duly recognised by the world community. In the past two years of its independence, the Republic became a full-fledged member of the United Nations, the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe, joined the organisation of economic cooperation, the Islamic Conference, the International Monetary Fund, the Bank for Reconstruction and Development and some other international organisations. Tajikistan is stepping up its foreign political activity, which helps strengthen its international authority.

Many important changes are taking place inside the country, the chief among which is the end of civil war and the return of bulk of refugees back home. Within a short period of time the Republic succeed in restoring the local government bodies and resuming law and order. The activity of Republic's ministries, state committees and other government agencies has been normalised.

Of course, very many problems have accumulated in all sectors of the national economy, and we are now looking for effective means of reviving the economy. In pursuance of this goal a gradual transition is being carried out to different forms of property and work is underway to liberalise prices and raise the competitiveness of the Republic's enterprises and their products on the world market.

Rakhmanov said economic ties with former soviet republics were being adjusted despite numerous difficulties. The full stabilisation of the country's economy is hampered by the shortage of fuel and lubricant materials, difficulties with funding and the disruption of banking ties. Nonetheless, a clear-cut tendency towards the stabilisation of the social and political situation is gaining momentum in the country.

Conveys Independence Day Message

LD0609155893 Dushanbe Radio Tajikistan Network in Tajik 1200 GMT 6 Sep 93

["Message of congratulations" by Supreme Soviet Chairman Imamali Rakhmanov to the people of Tajikistan on the occasion of Tajikistan's Independence Day; date not given—read by announcer]

[Text] Dear compatriots, the inhabitants of free Tajikistan, brothers and sisters, and friends! The past two years were a period of tense social, economic, and political conflicts in the history of our people. These conflicts were the reasons for the internal bloody war and have brought the Republic to the verge of national disaster. Fortunately, our wise people have achieved the end of the war and have been saved from the politics, war, and ideological situation of the conflict.

The people are now busy with peaceful labor. Treatment of the wounds of the senseless internal war is a long-term and difficult matter. That is why we and you, dear compatriots, must finish a lot of work in order to completely stabilize the Republic's situation.

The return of refugees from the Islamic State of Afghanistan is continuing. We cannot be calm unless all the people who have left their permanent places of residence return home. Today the inhabitants of the Republic can believe in the future and look at it with hope. We in Tajikistan, where the representatives of many nations live and work in friendship, express the hope that we never return back from the way that we have chosen; that is, the way of construction of a law-based and democratic state. All our thoughts, ideas, and work are concentrated

in order to implement these aims. The independence of our country, which was gained as a result of long torment, is a guarantee and firm basis for these high tasks.

Tajikistan will be developed along its own chosen way. It is a country that has an ancient history, and as a country that has seen great celebrations and has suffered much, it will enter the society of the developed states of the world with its special appearance.

The world community and, first of all, the whole Commonwealth of Independent States are rendering us all-around assistance. We do express our gratitude to all of them. But, dear compatriots, the future of the Republic depends on ourselves. Only we can transform our dear Tajikistan into a blossoming garden by our labor, huge creative force, wisdom, and liking for hard work.

The celebrations will pass, and the normal days will come. Let us not spare our efforts, knowledge, experience, and time to work in order to achieve the high aims of peace and prosperity of our tortured country.

Dear compatriots, once again I sincerely congratulate you on the occasion of the Independence Day of the Republic of Tajikistan. I wish you peace, success, and happiness.

Russian Border Guard Commander Updates Border Situation

LD0309221093 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2010 GMT 3 Sep 93

[Report on interview with Russian Border Guard Commander Anatoliy Chechulin by correspondent Liliya Lashchenko in Dushanbe; date not given; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Lashchenko] At a news conference held in Dushanbe it was noted that the situation on the Tajik-Afghan border had partially stabilized of late, and there were signs of prospects for agreements and mutual understanding with individual official structures of the armed formations in the Afghan border region.

[Begin recording] [Chechulin] Certain accords have been reached on measures and actions to be taken on both sides to stabilize matters with, among others, Qazi Kabir, a former field commander who is now commander of the 55th Infantry Division, and Commander Latif, who is based opposite the Pyandzh border detachment.

I am afraid, however, that I cannot say that this has been a total success in enabling us to remove the tension today. The past week alone has brought eight armed clashes. One Russian border guard has been killed, and two have been wounded. Admittedly, our adversaries—our uninvited guests—have lost 13 men, and three have been taken prisoner.

[Lashchenko] The night of 30-31 August was troubled.

[Chechulin] Shells exploded again in the sector of the 12th border post, manned by the Moskovskiy border detachment. They came under fire from Afghan territory. The village of Syrgora, where the 12th border post had formerly been located, came under fire from an inaccessible mountain pass through which a small group had evidently filtered. [end recording]

Signs Accords With Tajiks, Afghans

LD0509113193 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 5 Sep 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] In an interview today with journalists General Anatoliy Chechulin, commander of Russian border troops in Tajikistan, stated that a protocol of intent had been signed recently by Russian border troops and the commander of an infantry division of Tajikistan's Defense ministry. It contains guarantees that there will be no aggressive actions by the Tajik armed opposition located in the zone controlled by the division. Similar accords have been reached with a number of Afghan field commanders, and talks have been held with the military leadership of Afghan Badakhshan.

Tajikistan To Train Officers for Uzbek Army

PM0309122593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 31 Aug 93 p 3

[Aleksandr Borisov report: "Tajik Officers Will Train in Uzbekistan"]

[Text] Tajik officers are going to train in Uzbekistan. In accordance with an agreement signed between the two states' defense ministries, the training will begin at three higher military schools—the Chirchikskiy Tank School, the Tashkent Combined Arms School, and the Samarkand Motor Transport Command School.

You will recall that Tajikistan's young Army is experiencing an acute shortage of officer cadres. It seems that their training in other specialized fields—aviation, communications, and so forth—will be carried out in other CIS states which are signatories to the Collective Security Treaty.

Afghanistan Urges UN To Aid Tajik Refugees

LD0509192893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1843 GMT 5 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] London September 5 TASS—In today's interview with REUTERS, Afghan Minister for Border Affairs Sulaiman Gailani said Afghanistan urges the United Nations to step up assistance to tens of thousands of Tajik refugees staying on Afghan territory. The minister also stressed that Tajik refugees and forced migrants may remain in Afghanistan "as long as they would like".

Gailani declined to specify the exact sum that Afghanistan needs to help Tajik refugees whose number is estimated by REUTERS at 85,000 to 90,000.

Not long ago the minister returned to Kabul after a two-week tour of Afghanistan's provinces of Kunduz, Takhar and Badakhshan which have become a temporary home for most Tajik refugees displaced by the recent civil war in the former Soviet republic.

Chinese Leaders Send Congratulations on Independence Day

LD0609210993 Dushanbe Radio Tajikistan Network in Tajik 1700 GMT 6 Sep 93

[Text] A Foreign Affairs Ministry department has said that Jian Zemin, the president of the Chinese People's Republic, and Qiao Shi, the chairman of the Standing Committee of the National Peoples Congress of China, have sent a message of congratulations to Imamali Rakhmanov, the chairman of the Supreme Council of the Republic, that says the following:

On behalf of the Chinese people as well as personally ourselves, we sincerely congratulate the friendly Tajik people on the occasion of the second anniversary of independence of the Republic of Tajikistan. It is gratifying that cooperation between China and Tajikistan in many fields is developing successful. It is to the benefit of the interests of the two nations. Let the good- neighborly relations, friendship, and fruitful cooperation between China and Tajikistan be developed. We wish your country prosperity, peace and tranquillity, and your nation happiness.

Armenia

Gamsakhurdia Denies Supporters Blocked Railroads

NC0309191693 Yerevan SNARK in English 1438 GMT 3 Sep 93

[Text] Yerevan, September 3 (SNARK)—Georgian ex-president Zviad Gamsakhurdia appealed to Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan denying information telling that Gamsakhurdia's supporters blocked the railroads and disturb cargoes delivery to Armenia from the Poti seaport, the "AZG" Armenian newspaper reads. According to the newspaper Gamsakhurdia confirms that that disinformation "aimed to worsen our relations."

Armenian presidential press secretary said that he has no information whether the president has got Gamsakhurdia's appeal.

Ex-president Gamsakhurdia was living northern Armenia in January 1992 for some days after he had been overthrown and exiled from Georgia. President Levon Ter-Petrosyan's decision on "providing with a shelter" the ex-president had drawn up a different reaction in Armenia and Georgia that time.

Karabakh Welcomes Aliyev's Support for Bilateral Talks

NC0309152893 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1301 GMT 3 Sep 93

[Text] Yerevan 3 Sep (ARMENPRES)—The Nagorno-Karabakh Republic has reacted positively to Geydar Aliyev's statement at the Azerbaijani National Assembly in which he described the withdrawal of the Karabakh troops as a goodwill gesture and came out in favor of holding bilateral talks.

Foreign Minister Wants Recognition

NC0309164893 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1030 GMT 3 Sep 93

[Text] NKR [Nagorno-Karabakh Republic] Foreign Minister Arkadiy Gukasyan yesterday received congratulations from the correspondent of Nagorno-Karabakh television on the second anniversary of the proclamation of the republic. He then replied to the correspondent's questions.

Asked if he, as the first foreign minister of the NKR, is not baffled that so far no state has recognized the NKR's independence and which country will be the first to do so, Arkadiy Gukasyan replied: "No, I am not baffled. I would rather say that it makes my work more interesting. Their nonrecognition does not mean that the NKR does not exist. It exists de facto, and the international community cannot disregard that. We must continue our struggle to secure international recognition for our republic. I would have liked Azerbaijan to be the first state to recognize the NKR. I have not lost hope that an Azerbaijani de Gaulle will arise there one day."

Gukasyan Comments on Azerbaijani Plan

NC0409181793 Yerevan SNARK in English 1329 GMT 4 Sep 93

[Text] Stepanakert, September 4 (SNARK)—Arkadiy Gukasyan, the Karabakh foreign minister, said to SNARK "We only can greet the intention of Azerbaijani guidance to have the direct negotiations with Karabakh on the question of the peaceful conflict settlement. But the head of the Karabakh Foreign Department expressed the anxiety that the official Baku can control its armed units, stationed in zone of the conflict, some of which are continuing to violate the bilateral agreement on cease-fire, in spite of armistice. On speaking about the reports that Turkey moves closer up its troops to the Armenian-Turkey border, Gukasyan said that Stepanakert many times has come forward for excluding Turkey from the peaceful settlement process of the conflict under the aegis of Minsk group of CSCE. This country frankly defends the Azerbaijani interests, so it is out of the question its neutral position in the problem solving. Moreover the head of the Foreign Ministry expressed the assurance that the world community must condemn Ankara.

Yerevan Says Front 'Relatively Peaceful' 3 Sep

NC0309185493 Yerevan Radio Yerevan in Azeri 1330 GMT 3 Sep 93

[Excerpts] Dear listeners, we now present a report on the latest situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] and the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan.

The cease-fire agreement between the disputing sides is being honored. The situation on the NKR frontlines can be described as relatively peaceful. Nevertheless, tension continues to exist. It must be noted that the NKR Armed Forces have complied with the instructions they have received from their government to withdraw from several residential areas in Azerbaijan's Kubatlinskiy Rayon. They have withdrawn to the positions they held before the cease-fire agreement was reached. That process is being maintained.

As we reported earlier, NKR's military units entered Kubatlinskiy Rayon to render Azerbaijan's positions ineffective. The reason for that was the frequent wide-scale attacks and intensive firing on the NKR's residential areas and defense positions with various types of arms from that rayon. Dozens of the NKR's residential areas were destroyed and many innocent people were either killed or wounded as a result of Azerbaijan's criminal activities. Regardless of the warnings the Armenian side made several times, the enemy failed to adopt an appropriate approach. Consequently, it suffered from counterattacks. Nevertheless, the NKR leaders hope that an agreement that will satisfy the disputing sides will be reached in the talks they will hold on 10 September.

They also hope that the talks will continue. What is important is the commitment of the sides to their promises during the implementation of the cease-fire agreement. Any move that may aggravate the situation again should be avoided.

Regrettably, however, Azerbaijan has tried to use the peaceful situation to mass additional forces on the front lines. The NKR intelligence units have established that Azerbaijan has massed military units and armored vehicles in the NKR's northern, eastern, and western areas during the past two days. Naturally, that state of affairs has forced the Armenian side to take appropriate measures.

The Azerbaijan Ministry of Defense has distorted the situation once again. It has claimed that the Armenian forces penetrated Zangelanskiy Rayon's border on 2 September. It has also claimed that Zangelan was shelled with artillery guns yesterday. The NKR Command Headquarters has refuted Azerbaijan's claims. It disclosed that a relatively peaceful situation has existed in the NKR front lines during the past three days and that the sides have generally complied with the cease-fire agreement. [passage omitted]

Meanwhile, a relatively peaceful situation exists on the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan. However, tension continues to prevail. A serious incident has not been reported.

We hope that the present situation will be maintained.

Official Confirms Troop Withdrawal

NC0309194393 Yerevan SNARK in English 1438 GMT 3 Sep 93

[Text] Yerevan, September 3 (SNARK)—Today Karabakh troops left the Kubatly District centre which they have occupied recently, Armenian presidential press secretary Arsm Abrahamyan said to SNARK. Karabakh soldiers took that step because of president Levon Ter-Petrosyan's appeal to the Karabakh leadership. The armistice in the conflict zone is being commonly observed and at the same time Karabakh and Azerbaijani representatives speak with each other regularly by telephone, the presidential press-secretary said.

Karabakh Denies Offensive on Kubatly 4 Sep

NC0409091693 Yerevan SNARK in English 0855 GMT 4 Sep 93

[Text] Stepanakert, September 4 (SNARK)—Press-center of the Karabakh Defense Department has denied reports spread by the Azerbaijani mass media. They say the Armenian forces are attacking in the Kubatly direction. The representative of the press-center Senor Asratyan told SNARK that mutual firings took place in the Gadrut-Fizuli direction but they didn't cause serious consequences.

The Karabakh State Committee of Defense told that both sides are following the conditions of the temporary armistice concluded till September 10. During this period of time the meeting of the Karabakh and Azerbaijani leadership should take place. The telephone contacts are taking place to conclude the agreement on the place and date of the bilateral summit.

Karabakh Reports Situation at Front Quiet 6 Sep

Denies Goradiz Occupied

NC0609105593 Yerevan SNARK in English 1040 GMT 6 Sep 93

[Text] Stepanakert, 6 September (SNARK)—Relative quietness exists at the Karabakh fronts.

The Karabakh Department of Press and Information told SNARK that the temporary armistice concluded between Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabakh till September 10 is being followed.

The intensive telephone conversations between representatives of both sides to organize the meeting of the Azerbaijani and Karabakh leadership. [sentence as received]

The Karabakh Department of Press and Information denied Azerbaijani mass media reports on capturing the Goradiz settlement by the Armenian forces. Such false reports are of the main goal to show Karabakh as a violator of the agreement on cease-fire.

Conditions Described as Calm

NC0609182693 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1700 GMT 6 Sep 93

[Text] A relative calm has been prevailing on the Armenian border since last night. Incidents took place only yesterday evening when the armed formations in Sadarak [in Nakhichevan] opened fire briefly on the defensive positions near Yeraskhavan and Sevakavan in Araratskiy Rayon. The firing stopped after counteroperations were launched by Armenian fighters. The Armenian Defense Ministry press service reported that there were no losses on our side.

The situation remained stable at Karabakh's war fronts today. The Nagorno-Karabakh Republic Defense Army headquarters reported that, contrary to reports by certain Azerbaijani mass media, the cease-fire agreement basically is being observed.

Spokesman Says 'Irregular' Shots Fired From Turkey

NC0609161293 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1530 GMT 6 Sep 93

[Text] The Armenian president's press service reported today that in the early hours of 6 September "irregular"

shots were fired towards Armenia's border from the Turkish territory near Artashat City close to the Armenian-Turkish border.

Further on Turks Firing at Russians

NC0709075893 Paris AFP in English 0650 GMT 7 Sep 93

[Text] Moscow, Sept 7 (AFP)—Russian border guards patrolling the Turkish-Armenian border were fired upon late Monday [6 September] from Turkey, the ITAR-TASS new agency reported Tuesday quoting Russian border officials in Yerevan.

The shooting was near border post 14, in the Oktemberyanskiy region west of Yerevan, on barges on the Araks river in the early evening, ITAR-TASS said.

Turkish forces had fired across the border into Armenia with small-arms fire for the first time late Sunday but Ankara had said only that shots had been fired in the air for a marriage. Muslim Azerbaijanis are fighting with ethnic Armenians in Azerbaijan.

Russians Protest Violation

LD0709080993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0612 GMT 7 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan, 7 Sep— A detail of Russian border guards protecting Armenia'a state border was shot at from neighboring Turkish territory yesterday at 1800 on the sector of the 14th outpost of the Oktemberyanskiy border guard detachment. The ITAR-TASS correspondent was told by Major General Aleksandr Babenko, the head of the operational military group of "Armenia" Russian border troops, that a firm decisive protest has been made to the Turkish border guard comissar about the incident.

This is perhaps the only violation of the border regime in this particular sector of the state border, the general said. In his words, engineering facilities are being equipped and separate armored vehicles are appearing on the adjacent territory. Not far from the line of the border, Turkish border guard posts have been reinforced and additional border guard details are being dispatched.

Foreign Ministry Concerned Over Statements, Movements

LD0609123093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1145 GMT 6 Sep 93

[ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan, 6 September—The Armenian Foreign Ministry today expressed concern "at reports of threatening statements by neighboring countries and military movements in the region, which are giving rise to an atmosphere of mistrust and alarm." The Foreign Ministry statement, however, gives no precise details of either the nature of the "reports" or which specific countries are making them.

The statement notes further that the development of events around the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh instills the hope that the warring sides at last have come to the conclusion that it is undesirable and impossible to resolve the problem by military means and that an end is near to the conflict. The statement assesses positively the fact that an understanding has been reached between Azerbaijan and the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic, with Russia as mediator, on extending the cease-fire and that Nagorno-Karabakh unilaterally has withdrawn its troops from the Kubatlinskiy Rayon of Azerbaijan.

The Armenian Foreign Ministry thinks that under these conditions all countries and organizations connected with the conflict will show restraint and circumspection. Neutrality is a necessary prerequisite to all the mediation efforts, the ministry stated. We hope also that the international community will bring its levers into operation in a timely fashion in order to prevent the conflict from growing into an international one, the statement says.

Concerns Expressed to Turkey Over Troop Concentrations

LD0609122093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1151 GMT 6 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan September 6 TASS—Armenia expressed its concern to Turkey over the concentration of its troops on the border with Armenia.

President Levon Ter-Petrosyan told his Turkish counterpart Suleyman Demirel in a telephone conversation Monday [6 Monday] that the massing of troops can aggravate the situation and impede negotiations especially on the eve of the Moscow meeting of representatives of Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabakh scheduled for Wednesday and the unofficial consultations of the CSCE Minsk group for Karabakh due to begin on September 9, according to the press service of the Armenian president.

These meetings and consultations can promote a peaceful settlement in the region, it quoted Ter-Petrosyan as saying.

"The leaders of the neighbouring countries agreed to promote the cessation of military activities in Karabakh and the restoration of peace in the region", the press service said. It gave no further details.

Defense Ministry Comments

NC0709105493 Yerevan SNARK in English 1000 GMT 7 Sep 93

[Text] Yerevan, September 7 (SNARK)—The concentration of Turkish troops is observed at the southern borders of Armenia. SNARK was informed of this fact in the Defence Ministry of Armenia.

In the opinion of the high-ranking representatives in the Armenian military establishment, the possibility of Turkish aggression is excepted, because in this case immediately the collective security treaty of the CIS countries will come in force.

The interference of the third side in the conflict between Azerbaijan and Karabakh will lead to the beginning of the third world war, one of the Armenian generals members said to the SNARK reporter.

The day before there was a telephone talk between the presidents of Armenia and Turkey, in the course of which the situation at the border was discussed.

Government Said Unsure if Iranian Forces Present

NC0309183793 Yerevan SNARK in English 1315 GMT 3 Sep 93

[Text] Yerevan, September 3 (SNARK)—Aram Abrahamyan, press-secretary of the Armenian president doesn't confirm and doesn't deny the reports on the fact that the Iranian forces entered the Azerbaijani territories in the zone of the Azerbaijani-Karabakh conflict. The Armenian leadership doesn't possess the information on the fact. 'Everything which is taking place in neighbouring states - their own business", Aram Abrahamyan said. Referring to the TEHRAN TIMES Armenian Foreign Department told SNARK that one of the detachments of the Iranian Army crossed the Azerbaijani border not far from the Goradiz settlement to build the camp town for the refugees from the southern Azerbaijan. The newspaper mentions that the action is being undertaken in accordance with the decisions of the Azerbaijani leadership. The Iranian Embassy doesn't deny and doesn't confirm the information.

Spokesman Says Military Doctrine 'Purely Defensive'

LD0609100293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0853 GMT 6 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan, 6 Sep—A spokesman for the Armenian president today denied assertions that Yerevan seized or is going to seize the land belonging to other states. In a conversation with an ITAR-TASS correspondent, the presidential press secretary, Aram Abramyan, noted that the republic's military doctrine "is of a purely defensive nature and that not a single serviceman of the Armenian Army has taken part or will take part in military actions outside Armenia."

He also said that "neither sharply worded statements, regardless of which side they are coming from, nor saber rattling will help to resolve the regional conflict by peaceful means and, in particular, put an end to hostilities between Nagorno-Karabakh and Azerbaijan." In the opinion of the Armenian side, a dialogue that has recently been outlined between Baku and Stepanakert, and their agreement on a cease-fire, "may be endangered by hasty statements and actions that, in their turn, may cause the conflict to expand."

The representative of the Armenian leadership expressed the hope that all the sides linked to the Karabakh conflict "will show wisdom and restraint under the present circumstances".

Yerevan Reports Release of Russian Prisoners

NC0609202293 Yerevan SNARK in English 1345 GMT 6 Sep 93

[Text] Stepanakert, September 6 (SNARK)—Russian military men, sentenced in Azerbaijan to the death, will be exchanged for 16 Azerbaijani war prisoners, who were kept in Karabakh. SNARK was informed of the fact in the Karabakh State Committee of Defence. The representative of the committee said that among war prisoners there are two pilots shot down in Karabakh. The decision of Azerbaijan authorities on the exchange of the Russian war prisoners can be hardly considered a gesture of goodwill. Otherwise, Karabakh made a goodwill gesture, having decided to give to war prisoners to Azerbaijan. As the result of their actions, hundreds of inhabitants were killed, the representatives of the committee said.

General Dalibaltayan Appointed President's Counselor

NC0609204093 Yerevan SNARK in English 1345 GMT 6 Sep 93

[Text] Yerevan, September 6 (SNARK)—One of the skilled Armenian military men, Lieutenant General Gurgen Dalibaltayan has been appointed for the position of the Armenian president's counselor. He has also been appointed for the position of the military forces chief inspector.

Azerbaijan

Government Spokesman Denies Country Blockading Armenia

NC0409183593 Baku ASSA-IRADA in English 1257 GMT 4 Sep 93

[Text] Baku 04.09.93 (ASSA-IRADA)—The spread statement of the American Embassy said that according

to the information of the US State Department a number of Azerbaijanis in the result of the ethnic conflict now makes up 450000 people and that the USA can't sent the direct humanitarian assistance to Azerbaijan until this side doesn't take measures on removal of all blockaded of Armenia and upper Karabakh, ASSA-IRADA correspondent asked the president's adviser on foreign policy Vafa Guluzade to express his opinion on this matter.

The problem of blockade is cleared up in the letter to the US President Bill Clinton Vice President Gore and speaker of congress Thomas Foley written by Azerbaijani Supreme Soviet Chairman Acting Republican President Geydar Aliyev. It says that there is no blockade of Armenia by Azerbaijan. That's the invention of Armenia propaganda Armenia isn't blockade because it also borders on Turkey Iran and Georgia. It's true that the communications are destroyed but they were destroyed by Armenians themselves said Vafa Guluzade. Secondly in the statement of State Department the number of refugees is 450000 this is only the number of new refugees in the result of Armenian aggression escalation when they captured Agdam Fizuli Dzhebrail Kubatly. But today the total number of Azerbaijani refugees is about one million people stressed Vafa Guluzade.

Foreign Ministry Statement on Armenia

LD0609172793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1719 GMT 6 Sep 93

[Text] Baku September 6 TASS—Azerbaijan has never had any territorial claims to its neighbours and has never seized foreign territories, the Azerbaijani Foreign Ministry said on Monday [6 September].

The statement followed an appeal by the parliamentary chairman of the disputed enclave of Nagorno-Karabakh to U.N. secretary-general Butrus Butrus-Ghali to send his envoy to the region.

"Azerbaijan as a sovereign state realises its legitimate right to protect its territory from encroachments of the Republic of Armenia," the statement said.

"Escalation of hostilities is directly connected with Armenia's aggression against Azerbaijan and its reluctance to recognise its involvement in the war which it is trying to cover with a thesis about humanitarian aid to Nagorno-Karabakh Armenians," the statement said.

Meanwhile the Armenian Security Council which held a session in Yerevan late on Monday expressed concern about the aggravation of the military and political situation in the region and welcomed efforts aimed at promoting the settlement process and peace in the region.

The Council stressed that political moves are necessary in order to ease tension, the press service of the Armenian president said.

Parliament Approves Talks With Armenia, Karabakh

LD0309210493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1937 GMT 3 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Sevinj abdullayeva and Viktor Shulman]

[Text] Baku, 3 Sep—Shortly before midnight today, the Azerbaijan National Assembly approved the line of the republic's leadership oriented toward talks with the leaders of Armenia and forces in Nagorno-Karabakh, and spoke in favor of continuing contacts aimed at searching for peaceful options toward resolving the conflict. According to Geydar Aliyev, chairman of Azerbaijan's National Assembly and acting president, this does not mean denying the need to strengthen the country's defence capacity, to build an efficient army, and to fight for the liberation of the occupied territories in the republic. At the same time, he considers that everything possible should be done in order to have the annexed territories returned by peaceful means.

The National Assembly also approved the participation of an Azerbaijani representative in the September meeting of the CIS Heads of State. Geydar Aliyev is empowered to conduct talks with the leaders of those countries and to make decisions based on his own assessment of the situation.

Further on Parliament Meeting

NC0309212893

[Editorial Report] Baku Azerbaijan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Azeri at 1550 GMT on 3 September begins live transmission of an address by Chairman of the Supreme Soviet Geydar Aliyev to the National Assembly.

Aliyev updates the Assembly on the battle situation and on talks being held with the Armenian and Karabakh leadership. He says the talks have resulted in a 10-day cease-fire starting on 31 August. He says that regardless of occasional cease-fire violations, if consistent efforts are made in this direction the peace talks could begin. Aliyev adds: "Our demands at these talks will be the cessation of fire, the beginning of peace talks, and the withdrawal of Armenia's troops from the occupied lands."

Aliyev says that the Armenian troops were supposed to withdraw from Kubatlinskiy by last night, allowing the civilians to return to their homes. Deputy Premier Abbas Abbasov is now in Lenkoran to deal with these matters. Aliyev adds: "According to the information he conveyed this morning, the necessary (?conditions) have been created for the return of the people to Kubatly."

Aliyev says that talks are also being held on the fate of Fizulinskiy and Dzhebrailskiy Rayons. Aliyev adds: "I again repeat that our decision to go to these talks, and in

particular our contacts with the forces in Nagorno-Karabakh, are designed to secure the withdrawal of Armenia's Armed Forces from these occupied lands and then to hold comprehensive peace talks." He adds: "These measures arise from the demands and requirements of the time." Aliyev asks the assembly "to state if these measures are correct or wrong, whether or not we should follow this path, or chose another one. Do you like our measures or not? I want the parliament to express its views on this matter."

Aliyev then informs the parliament that the CIS summit will be held in Moscow on 7 September, and adds: "An invitation was sent to us, to the Azerbaijani leadership, to participate in this meeting. I already told you that I had talks with Russian President Boris Yeltsin. Recently we also spoke in connection with this invitation. I think that we have to accept this invitation and go to that meeting. I want the parliament to express its opinion on this issue. If my proposal is accepted then it should give me the necessary mandate. Many issues will be discussed at this meeting [words indistinct]. It is obvious that we are not a member of the CIS. However, we are being asked if Azerbaijan is going to enter this union and what Geydar Aliyev's views are on this issue. I reply that my view should be the view expressed by the parliament and the state. I cannot have a personal view. As an ordinary citizen I could have stated my own view before, but now as the chairman of the parliament and executing the powers of the head of state, I cannot express an independent opinion. Therefore I do not want a broad discussion of this issue, but some exchange of opinion should take place."

Regarding reports on an Iranian troop incursion, Aliyev's statements are mostly unmonitorable because he is far away from the microphone. He says: "I want to add that Russia issued a statement expressing concern at the danger of Iranian involvement in this conflict. [Words indistinct] I have been asked to comment on this issue [words indistinct]. In replying to these questions I told them and am telling you the following: The Armenian Republic's Armed Forces (?are near) the Azerbaijani-Iranian border. Most of the refugees are gathered along the Araks River and are either living in buses or in the open air. I informed the officials of the foreign countries that Azerbaijanis also live on the other bank of the Araks, and according to our information, they are very agitated because they see the condition of the Azerbaijanis on this bank. There are bridges there, though not many, but it is not difficult to cross them. [words indistinct] At the same time I cannot confirm [such reports] because we do not control the borders, and if certain forces [words indistinct] enter our territory through other localities we cannot (?observe them) [words indistinct]. Therefore I cannot confirm these [incidents]."

Aliyev then calls on the deputies to debate the issues that he raised at the beginning.

The National Assembly endorses Aliyev's proposal to hold and continue talks with Armenia and the Karabakh Armenians by extending the cease-fire. There is no resolution; Aliyev simply asks who supports the policy of continuing the talks with the Armenians; 35 of 42 attending deputies vote in favor.

Aliyev then asks to accept the invitation to attend the CIS meeting with a mandate to hold talks there. This proposal is endorsed by the Assembly. Aliyev says: "What I am requesting is that the invitation be accepted. Once there, we will see under what conditions Azerbaijan will participate in the talks, and while participating in the meeting we will see within what framework we have to act. That is why I submitted this issue for debate. I am not talking here about becoming a member of the CIS. I already told you that the CIS has regulations and the (?membership) is not open to all. However, a certain exchange of views should have been held on this issue [words indistinct], and it was necessary to hear the views of the parliament."

The parliament endorses his proposal. Thirty-four of 40 attending deputies vote for it.

Aliyev then announces a 20-minute recess at 1822 GMT.

At 1910 GMT the National Assembly session resumes its deliberations. The session adopts a decision on the appointment of Tamerlan Karayev as Azerbaijani ambassador to the People's Republic of China. Tamerlan Karayev is therefore relieved from his post as first deputy chairman and member of the Supreme Soviet. The National Assembly then adopts a law on martyrs and social protection of the martyrs' families. It ratifies the agreement to join the ECO [Economic Cooperation Organization]. It adopts a resolution on joining the international meteorology organization.

Because Rakhim Gaziyev was expelled from the parliament and Karayev was appointed ambassador to China, Aliyev proposes that two others should be appointed as people's deputies in their place. He proposes Gulnara Kurbanova and Samur Novruzov to be elected as people's deputies. This proposal is adopted.

At the proposal of a deputy, Aliyev suggests that Arif Gadzhiyev be expelled from the National Assembly for having failed to attend the parliament sessions for a long time. This proposal is adopted.

Aliyev Addresses Parliament

LD0309194193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1730 GMT 3 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Sevindzh Abdullayeva and Viktor Shulman]

[Text] Baku, 3 Sep—In his address at the evening session of the National Assembly of Azerbaijan—which is continuing its work at this very minute—Geydar Aliyev, acting president and chairman of the National Assembly, reported on the continuing contacts with the Armenian

leadership and with the Armenian leaders of Nagorno-Karabakh with the goal of settling the conflict. Recalling the agreement reached on a cease-fire in the conflict zone until 10 September, the leader of Azerbaijan stressed that the way would be open for the holding of peace talks, at long last, if the conditions of this document are strictly fulfilled. In his words, Azerbaijan's demands in such a process would boil down to a complete cease-fire and the withdrawal of Armenian forces from the occupied territories of Azerbaijan.

Aliyev also announced that specific conditions for a partial return of local inhabitants to the territory of Kubatlinskiy Rayon had already been established as a result of contacts that have been initiated regarding the withdrawal of Armenian troops from this area.

He also noted that Azerbaijan intends to send a delegation if an agreement is reached between the warring sides regarding a meeting in Moscow. Aliyev thinks that the actions taken by the leadership of the republic are dictated by the present state of affairs, and he called upon the parliament to support this effort.

Touching upon the forthcoming meeting of the heads of CIS member states in September in Moscow, Aliyev noted that the leadership of Azerbaijan has received an invitation to participate in that summit. In his opinion, it should be accepted. If the National Assembly responds positively to participation in this meeting, Aliyev says he intends to ask for powers for himself in order to represent the republic. In this event, Aliyev said that a meeting between he and Russian President Boris Yeltsin may take place. According to a preliminary understanding, it is intended to exchange opinions on the development of relations between the two states during the meeting and, in particular, discuss ways to settle the Armenian-Azerbaijan conflict.

Assembly Reaches Decision on Convicts

NC0509203593 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 5 Sep 93

["Text" of the decision adopted by the National Assembly on the appeal made by Russia's supreme state organs; date not given, read by announcer]

[Text] President Boris Yeltsin and Speaker of Parliament Ruslan Khasbulatov have appealed to the leading officials of Azerbaijan's supreme state organs for the transfer of the six Russian citizens and former military servicemen of Russia's Armed Forces, who have been tried and convicted by the Azerbaijan Supreme Court Military Collegium, to Russia's state organs. The six Russian citizens, who served in Russia's 7th Army in Armenia in the past, joined the ranks of the Armenian military units and participated in the combat operations on Azerbaijan's border. They were captured by the Azerbaijan National Army units in [placename indistinct] in Kelbadzharskiy Rayon on 11 September 1992. According to the Azerbaijan Supreme Court Military Collegium's verdict on 12 May 1993, five of the convicts were sentenced to death. The sixth was sentenced to prison for 15 years. Appealing to the leading officials of Azerbaijan's supreme state organs, the officials of Russia's supreme state organs said that the decision to transfer the convicts will be regarded as a step to improve friendship and mutual understanding between the two countries. Furthermore, they said that they assure the leading officials of Azerbaijan's supreme state organs that they will take all the necessary measures to prevent Russia's citizens from joining ethnic groups to fight against Azerbaijan in the future.

Considering that appeal, the further improvement of friendship and relations between Azerbaijan and Russia, and Azerbaijan's supreme interests and [word indistinct], the Azerbaijan National Assembly decides the following:

1. The six former members of Russia's Armed Forces, who have been convicted by the Azerbaijan Supreme Court Military Collegium, be transferred to Russia's state organs.

2. The Azerbaijan National Assembly expresses the hope that Russia's pertinent state organs will take the necessary measures to prevent Russia's citizens from joining the mercenary bands to participate in the combat operations carried out by the Armenian military forces against Azerbaijan.

3. President Boris Yeltsin and Speaker of Parliament Ruslan Khasbulatov be informed of the Azerbaijan National Assembly's decision.

[Signed] Geydar Aliyev, chairman of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet and National Assembly

Government Calls For UN Action, Sanctions Against Armenia

NC0309152193 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 2 Sep 93

["Text" of statement by Azerbaijan's plenipotentiary mission in Moscow; date not given—read by announcer]

[Text] The Armenian aggression against Azerbaijan has entered a new stage. The Armenian military units have occupied the Dzhebrailskiy Rayon center after violent clashes in that rayon. Meanwhile, the strong attack on Kubatly City is continuing and Zangelan has been besieged. These residential areas are not close to the Daghlyk Karabakh's border. Consequently, more than 20 percent of Azerbaijan's territory has been occupied.

The aggression is being perpetrated with the direct involvement of Armenia's leaders. They are trying to involve the countries that have common borders with Azerbaijan in the dispute. Tens of thousands of peaceful people, including women, children, and elderly people,

are being forced to move toward Iran's border. Reports have said that the Armenian artillery units [words indistinct] Iran's territory.

The Armenian Armed Forces are using tanks, heavy artillery units, and crystal-type rocket launchers. An effort is being made to destroy the land and the economic potential in the residential areas the Armenian military units have placed under their control. The aggressor has revealed its ugly intentions. Peaceful residents are being killed by the merciless Armenian butchers. An act of violence is being committed against Azerbaijan's people. Azerbaijan is being fragmented before the eyes of Russia and the other countries in the world.

Undoubtedly, the Armenian military units in Daghlyk Karabakh realize their wide-scale combat operations with the direct support, aid, and guidance of foreign countries. The objective behind that state of affairs is to internationalize the dispute. That cannot be allowed to happen because it may create a shock in the world and strong tension that could spread to areas far away from Azerbaijan's border.

Azerbaijan's plenipotentiary mission in Moscow has been asked to make it known that Armenia [words indistinct] and grossly violates the UN and CSCE resolutions, including UN Security Council Resolutions 822 and 853.

We urge the United Nations to immediately intervene. The Armenian aggressors in Karabakh have been delighted by the fact that they have not been penalized. Only the international community's action and very effective sanctions can halt the aggressor.

Envoy Issues Statement

LD0309211593 Baku Radio Baku International Service in English 1700 GMT 3 Sep 93

[Text] Azerbaijan's plenipotentiary mission to Moscow has made a statement. The statement says:

The Armenian aggression against Azerbaijan has moved into a new stage. After fierce battles, columns of Armenian tanks have captured the center of the Azerbaijanian town of Dzhebrail. Armenian troops are still assaulting the Azerbaijanian town of Kubatly. The town of Zangelan is encircled by Armenian forces. All these residential areas are situated beyond the boundaries of Upper Karabakh. Thus more than 20 percent of Azerbaijanian territories have been occupied by Armenian troops.

Armenia, under whose guidance and with the direct participation the aggression is committed, is striving to draw the countries contiguous to Azerbaijan into this conflict. Tens of thousands of unarmed civilians, women, children, and old men are pushed back towards the Iranian border. There are cases that the Iranian territories are subjected to artillery shelling from the Armenian positions. Armenian armed units use tanks, heavy artillery, rocket launchers. In all the occupied residential areas, Armenians use scorched earth tactics of Nazis. The economic potential of those regions has been destroyed, and the aggressor is carrying off all the loot from the occupied Azerbaijanian territories.

The statement goes on to say that the aggressor is finally thrown off the mark. Azerbaijanian civilians are perished [as heard] under the tank caterpillars [as heard] of Armenian chastisers, exceeding the Nazis in acts of cruelty. The abominable genocide against the Azerbaijanian people, dismemberment of Azerbaijan, are [words indistinct] in complete silence of Russia and the world community.

The document points out that these predatory, widescale military offenses of Upper Karabakh Armenian formations are being carried out under direct guidance and with the aid of other external forces. The purpose of all these forces is the internationalization of the conflict. This scenario mustn't be allowed to be carried out. It may lead to world disaster and to a fierce fire which may spread far beyond the boundaries of Azerbaijan.

Azerbaijan's plenipotentiary mission to Moscow states that Armenia cynically challenges the world community, flagrantly violating the United Nations and the CSCE decisions, including the United Nations Security Council Resolutions 822 and 853. Azerbaijan's plenipotentiary mission to Moscow calls on the world community to interfere immediately. The Armenian aggressor, whose hands are in blood to the elbow, is intoxicated with the feeling of impunity. The world community's voice and the most severe sanctions applied against the aggressor are able to stop him.

I remind you, dear listeners, that you have been listening to the text of the statement made by Azerbaijan's plenipotentiary mission to Moscow.

Armenian 'Militants' Seize Village Near Iranian Border

LD0409125793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1224 GMT 4 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Viktor Shulman]

[Text] Baku September 4 TASS—Despite a ceasefire agreement, Armenian militants continue offensive into the Azerbaijani territory, the Azerbaijani Defence Ministry said on Saturday.

It said that last night Armenian forces seized the village of Goradiz in the Fizuli district in southwestern Azerbaijan near the border with Iran.

The ministry said Azerbaijani troops observed the ceasefire agreement and did not retaliate.

Cease-Fire Violations Alleged

NC0609103393 Baku ASSA-IRADA in English 1000 GMT 6 Sep 93

[Text] Baku, 06.09.93 (ASSA-IRADA)—Armenian side doesn't observe the agreement on truce on the night of September 5-6 the positions of Azerbaijani National Army in Zangelanskiy Province and in Sadarak village of Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic [NAR] were subject to fire from the territory of Armenia. The units of Armenian Army made an attempt to advance in Geranboy and Agdzhabedinskiy Provinces, but they were stopped and repelled. In the occupied by Armenians Kubatlinskiy Province the pillage is continuing. All the booty is taken out to Armenia. Despite all warnings to leave Kubatlinskiy, Armenian troops keep staying there.

More on Cease-Fire Violations

NC0709104893 Baku ASSA-IRADA in English 1012 GMT 7 Sep 93

[names as received]

[Text] Baku, 07.09.93 (ASSA-IRADA)—Violating the agreement on armistice today on September 7, since early morning the extensive missile and artillery fire of bordering Zangelan province's residential areas has been continuing from the territory of Armenia, as ASSA-IRADA reporter was told in the Defence Ministry of the republic. The main blow of the Armenian artillery was dealt upon the 'Mayifli' railway station located on road to Zangelan. Simultaneously the incessant fire at Muganli village from territory of the occupied by the Armenians Khanlik village of Kubatly province is going on. The relative tranquility is observed in other parts of the frontline.

Embassy Official Denies Iranian Troops in Azerbaijan

NC0309140193 Baku ASSA-IRADA in English 1241 GMT 3 Sep 93

[Text] Baku, 03.09.93 (ASSA-IRADA)—Iranian troops can enter the territory of Azerbaijan only with consent of its government, ASSA-IRADA was told by Mr. Askar Movahhed, press secretary of the embassy of Islamic Republic of Iran in Azerbaijan. He refuted the information that Iranian troops entered the territory of the Azerbaijan in the area of Araz Reservoir in Nakhichevan and Goradiz reservoir in Fizulinskiy District. One should have corresponding agreements for it, in particular, on military cooperation. But there are no such agreements between Azerbaijan and Iran, Mr. Askar Movahhed said. According to Mr. Movahhed viewpoint, some circles both in Azerbaijan and to abroad would like to draw Iran into this conflict. However, from the very beginning the Islamic Republic of Iran spoke for peace settlement of this conflict. Mr. Movahhed reported that Foreign Ministry of Iran addressed the ECO and the UN secretary-general with the request to take urgent measures on preventing further escalation of Armenian aggression on the territory of Azerbaijan.

Aliyev Admits Troops 'Might Have Entered'

TA0309205393 Ankara Turkiye Radyolari Network in Turkish 2000 GMT 3 Sep 93

[Text] Acting Azerbaijani President Geydar Aliyev has said that security cannot be ensured at the borders and that the Iranian troops might have entered Azerbaijani territory. Mehmet Gul from the Turkish Radio and Television team in Baku reports the following:

[Begin Gul recording] The Azerbaijani National Assembly met this evening to discuss the situation at the Iranian border and the recent Armenian attacks. Aliyev, addressing the Assembly meeting, confirmed that Iranian troops are being massed at the Azerbaijani border. He added that Russia and various other countries have expressed their concern on the issue to Azerbaijan. Aliyev noted that the Armenians are at the Iranian border and that if the Armenian troops clash with the Iranians the situation in the region will be further exacerbated. He continued: Let the regional countries learn the necessary lessons from this development.

The Azerbaijani Assembly has authorized Aliyev to hold talks with the Armenians, participate in the forthcoming meeting of the CIS, and act as required. The Assembly further decided that the 6 Russian soldiers, who were taken prisoners during the Armenian occupation of Kelbadzhar, will be exchanged for the Azerbaijanis being held by the Armenians. [end recording]

Official Denies Border Infiltration

NC0409170093 Baku TURAN in English 1236 GMT 4 Sep 93

[Text] Baku, September 4 (TURAN)—"We totally control the situation on the border with Iran", stated the Chief of Department for Border Guarding General Iskender Allakhverdiyev. He denied the statements of mass media on violation of south-western borders of Azerbaijan by military units of foreign states. According to I. Allakhverdiyev words, at present our government makes efforts to render material and moral assistance to the refugees in the south- west of the country and to evacuate them to the east of the country.

Along with this at yesterdays sitting of Milli Mejlis commenting the statements on concentration of Iranian forces along the board with Azerbaijan, Geydar Aliyev told, "Iran has right to take care of safety of its north borders".

According to news from Nakhichevan, Turkish forces are going on concentrating along the border with Armenia and Azerbaijan. As Turkish newspapers report, Turkish military-air forces are making regular reconnaissance flights along the border with Armenia.

The day before, Turkish President Suleyman Demirel declared, that Turkey would undertake necessary steps to keep territorial integrity of Azerbaijan.

Aliyev Reports Iranian Offer of Aid to Refugees

LD0509144893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1315 GMT 5 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS-AZERTAC correspondents]

[Text] Baku, 5 Sep—The Islamic Republic of Iran has offered assistance to 100,000 Azerbaijani refugees, who have been made homeless in the last few days, following the seizure by Armenian armed formations of the Fizulinskiy [Fizuli], Dzhebrailskiy [Dzhebrail], and part of Kubatlinskiy [Kubatly] border districts, and who are now in neighboring districts. Geydar Aliyev, head of the Azerbaijani National Assembly, who is exercising the powers of president, announced this today.

Last night he had a meeting with 'Ali Akhbar Nahavandian, Iran's ambassador in Azerbaijan, in the course of which the Iranian diplomat stated that his government was ready to offer care to those who are suffering deprivation because of the war, and would create all conditions for their normal life until they returned to their homes.

Geydar Aliyev expressed gratitude to Iran's leaders for this humanitarian initiative and assistance to Azerbaijan in this difficult hour for the country.

Aliyev, U.S. Ambassador Discuss Situation in Region

LD0309190693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1630 GMT 3 Sep 93

[By AZERTAC correspondent Natig Abdullayev for TASS]

[Text] Baku, 3 Sep—The Washington administration is concerned about the situation in the southwest of Azerbaijan—in the region which borders Iran—which has become more acute here following a worsening of the operational situation. Richard Miles, the U.S. ambassador to Azerbaijan, expressed his country's concern when he met today with Acting President Geydar Aliyev.

The diplomat informed the leader of Azerbaijan that a military representative of the American Army was sent today to this explosive region, but in the presence of journalists he did not say specify the aim. According to Richard Miles, the United States is carefully following the events in this Transcaucasian republic and knows its difficulties, which are mainly to do with the issue of refugees. He also noted that his country is doing everything possible to alleviate the fate of the refugees.

Having stressed the importance of Azerbaijani-American contacts, Geydar Aliyev thought it necessary to note that the level of contacts, taking into account the interests of the two states, must be increased. In this connection he announced that he expects responses to his appeals to the U.S. leadership, first and foremost a response from U.S. President Bill Clinton.

On the settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict, the country's acting president again stressed Azerbaijan's adherence to a peaceful political solution to this complex issue. At the same time, he expressed regret in connection with the sometimes contradictory position of the Armenian side, which is hindering in every way possible the peace process in the region, in accordance with the well-known UN Security Council resolutions and decisions, and which is continuing to occupy around 20 percent of Azerbaijani territory. It was stressed that, in particular, the 10-day agreement on a cease-fire and the withdrawal of Armenian troops from the Kubatlinskiy rayon in the southwest of Azerbaijan is being violated.

In the words of Geydar Aliyev, the scheduled meeting in Moscow, on which an agreement had been reached by the sides with Russia's assistance, is also threatened. He sees this as powerful pressure being exerted by the Armenian side, which has taken advantage of its temporary military superiority over Azerbaijan. He also stressed that Azerbaijan, which is interested in peace, would not refuse efforts by other states to mediate in a settlement of the conflict.

Turkish Government Cited on Fears Conflict Could Spread

NC0309190693 Baku ASSA-IRADA in English 1600 GMT 3 Sep 93

[Text] Baku, 03.09.93 ASSA-IRADA—Immediately and unconditionally it can lead to involvement of the nearest countries of the region into this conflict, it's said in the statement of the press service of Turkish president, received by ASSA-IRADA press agency from the Turkish embassy in Azerbaijan. This document was adopted at the special session under the chairmanship of president of Turkey Suleyman Demirel. Prime-minister of Turkey state minister, vice-premier, ministers of defence, internal affairs, foreign affairs and chief of the general staff of the Turkey participated in this session. [sentence as received] The abovementioned statement says that it's necessary to take additional measures for guaranteeing security of Turkey itself, preserving territorial integrity and independence of fraternal Azerbaijan and for safeguarding of peace and security in the region.

Opposition Leader Warns of Turkey, Iran, Russia

NC0409193293 Baku ASSA-IRADA in English 1257 GMT 4 Sep 93

[Text] Baku 04.09.93 (ASSA-IRADA)—Turkey Iran and Russia are called today the Bermudian Triangle for Azerbaijan.

This is also the opinion of oppositional leader Etibar Mamedov who made a political speech today at the

extraordinary congress Milli Isteglal Party [party name as received] of Azerbaijan national independence. The Republic may sink in such dangerous triangle if the preference is given to any of these countries. Thats why the balance should be kept in foreign policy and first of all interests of Azerbaijan should be taken into account stressed Etibar Mamedov. He also stated that Milli Isteglal Party is still against the entry into CIS and will openly oppose any step which may bring Azerbaijan to the loss of its independence.

Opposition Leaders Released, Arrested Again

NC0609124993 Baku TURAN in English 1158 GMT 6 Sep 93

[Text] Baku, September 6 (TURAN)—September the 4 in Baku in the headquarters of Surakhani department of the Popular Front of Azerbaijan (PFA), where the meeting was going on, the police arrested Gulamguseyn Aliyev, the chairman of the Supreme Mejlis of the PFA and Ibragim Ibragimov, the chairman of the executive body of PFA. Mamed Imanov, the chief of the general department of the PFA and the employees of the central apparatus of the PFA Orudzh Abbasov and Gadir Mamedov were also arrested. During the arrest the police badly beaten O. Abbasov.

At 9 p.m. the arrested were dismissed. But September 5 at 2 a.m. G. Aliyev and I. Ibragimov were arrested again.

The arrest of the Deputy I. Ibragimov have been carried out in violence [as received] of the law of the deputy immunity and without the decree of Milli Mejlis. As TURAN was told in the military commandant's office of the city of Baku, "the cause of the arrest was the violence of the term of state of emergency, that bans to hold meetings."

But this reason is hardly to be agree with, as the term of the state of emergency bans to hold rallies and mass meetings and outdoor meetings, not indoor meetings. The press-center of the PFA qualified such actions of the police as "the continuation of the suppression of the political opposition in Azerbaijan."

Elchibey Supporters Hold Rally in Nakhichevan

NC0309142593 Baku TURAN in English 1200 GMT 3 Sep 93

[Text] Baku, September 3 (TURAN)—As the press service of President Elchibey reported, the rally of the supporters of the Popular [People's] Front (PFA) took place in the town of Nakhichevan September 2. 8-10 thousand participants of the rally were declaring slogans 'Elchibey - is a legal president', 'to abolish the results of the coup', and so on.

As the same source reported, the speakers at the rally sharply criticized the authorities for the effort to split the Azeri people, for the defeats at the battle-front and demanded, that the anti- constitutional decrees of Milli Mejlis, passed during the last 2 months were abolished. Some unknown people made efforts to spoil the rally, which lasted for 2 hours, but the activists of PFA suppressed these efforts.

By the end of the rally some of the participants of it held a picket in front of the building of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MFA) of the Republic and demanded to dismiss the illegally arrested activists of the PFA. As a result of the talks with the leaders of the MFA the agreement on implementing these demands have been reached.

Elchibey To Quit Politics

LD0509103493 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 5 Sep 93

[Text] Abulfaz Elchibey, the former president of Azerbaijan, has said that he is ending his political activities and is going back to scholarly work. The Russian Information Agency has learnt this from reliable sources. In his speech on national radio, Elchibey also said that detachments of the Popular Front should be incorporated in the National Army.

Elchibey Denies Plan To Quit

NC0609123993 Baku TURAN in English 1158 GMT 6 Sep 93

[Text] Baku, September 6 (TURAN)—The press-secretary of President Elchibey Arif Aliyev in his talk with TURAN correspondent rejected the false information of the Moscow and Baku, that President Elchibey intends to halt his political struggle and to begin scientific activity. Having called these reports the "tendentious misinformation aimed at splitting the opposition," Arif Aliyev stated, that President Elchibey hasn't change his attitude towards the Baku powers, who have usurped the power as a result of the military coup.

To the words of the press-secretary "A. Elchibey has not made any statement about his intention to halt his political activity, and he will continue his struggle for the restoration of democracy in Azerbaijan," Arif Aliyev point out.

Aliyev Says Inter-Party 'Squabbles' Hurt Military

NC0509160493 Baku ASSA-IRADA in English 1429 GMT 5 Sep 93

[Text] Baku 05.09.93 (ASSA-IRADA)—Interparty squabbles in the Republic, influence the situation in front very badly, said Geydar Aliyev, acting president chairman of the Supreme Soviet during the reception of deputies of Turkish Parliament from party "Anavatan" [Motherland Party, ANAP] who arrived Baku according to the instruction of the leader of their party Mesut Yilmaz to get acquainted thoroughly with the situation in Azerbaijan. Then Geydar Aliyev noted that the Army almost does not exist in Azerbaijan, during the last times the heads of Defense Ministry have been periodically

changed, which cannot but influence the military operations. But we will overcome the difficulties, return all territories lost and maintain our independence.

Georgia

Shevardnadze on Talks With Russia's Grachev

LD0309213793 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1950 GMT 3 Sep 93

[Excerpts] Members of the Georgian parliament gathered at the parliament building today, 3 September. [passage omitted]

The members of parliament were addressed by the head of state, Mr. Eduard Shevardnadze, who spoke about a visit to Georgia by Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev, during which issues of future Russo-Georgian cooperation in military [word indistinct] the demarcation of the border between Russia and Georgia, and other issues were discussed.

During the talks, agreement was reached that Russian military bases in Georgia will be sited in Tbilisi, Akhalkalaki, and Batumi.

Regarding the situation in western Georgia, the head of state said he is ready to continue negotiations with the leaders of illegal armed units in order to prevent fratricidal war. [passage omitted]

Grachev Views Meetings

PM0609075393 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Sep 93 p 2

[Dmitriy Pavshentsev report: "Georgia: Visit Against Backdrop of Big Showdown"]

[Text] "The main purpose of the visit is to discuss with the Georgian leadership the prospects for new relations between our states on the eve of the signing of a basic treaty between Russia and Georgia," Russian Federation Defense Minister Pavel Grachev said after his meeting with E. Shevardnadze Wednesday [1 September]. "Naturally," he continued, "questions of military relations in the future were also discussed in connection with the signing of the treaty."

In response to PRAVDA correspondent's question, the minister noted that the delegations discussed the question of common borders within the framework of the former USSR, clarifying their "transparency" as far as building only checkpoints with free entry and freedom of movement. As for the status of Russian combined units' temporary deployment in Georgia, three main groupings will be stationed on its territory—the Tbilisi, Akhalkalaki, and Batumi Groupings.

However, the situation in Western Georgia has assumed the nature of passive resistance. Loti Kobaliya's subunits numbering around 2,000 men still control the cities of Senaki, Abasha, and Khobi. They have closed off vital routes by which the republic receives food, humanitarian aid, and fuel from the port of Poti. Acting Vice Premier A. Margiani, who addressed a Georgian parliament session Tuesday, said that Tbilisi has three days' supply of flour left. Government troop subunits and equipment have been taken to Poti itself. What is more, an additional contingent of national guard and police, and a corps of "Mkhedrioni" rescue personnel have entered the city of Samtredia, thus cutting off a possible advance by Kobaliya's detachments eastward.

Meanwhile, there are plans to hold a session of the former Georgian Supreme Soviet in Zugdidi, which is also controlled by detachments of Zviadists and where the Mingrelian Republic is expected to be proclaimed.

Shevardnadze, Russian Envoy Discuss Abkhaz Conflict

LD0309195993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1759 GMT 3 Sep 93

[By GIA correspondent for TASS]

[Text] Tbilisi, 3 Sep—Today Eduard Shevardnadze, chairman of Georgia's Parliament and head of state, received Russia's Ambassador to Georgia Vladimir Zemskiy at the latter's request. During the conversation, Georgia's Information Agency reports, the sides "touched on the sides implementing the obligations adopted on a settlement of the conflict in Abkhazia, and the deepening of peace- keeping processes. Certain aspects of the situation which have currently developed in the Transcaucasus were also discussed."

Correspondent Reports Slow Progress With Withdrawal

LD0509220193 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2000 GMT 5 Sep 93

[Report by Arkadiy Melkonyan from Abkhazia, including recorded remarks by S.K. Shoygu, head of the Russian group of the joint commission; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The latest consignment of 42 units of heavy equipment was loaded yesterday onto a large amphibious warfare ship of the Black Sea Fleet and sent to Poti, but there is still a lot of armored and heavy equipment in the town and the surrounding area. This was noted at a sitting of the joint commission on the settlement of the conflict in Abkhazia.

[Begin Shoygu recording] The Abkhazian side has shown more discipline in implementing the schedule, as I said before. So, the Georgian side has to catch up now. [end recording]

[Melkonyan] The Georgian side has decided to take a break until 6 September, and on 7 September, a special trilateral group of combat engineers will start work on the former Gumista front. It will be responsible for

destroying the remaining equipment on the spot, as decided by the joint commission.

[Begin recording] [Melkonyan] Sergey Kuzhugetovich [Shoygu], one of the most important issues discussed today was the functioning of the legitimate bodies of power. What was the result of the discussion?

[Shoygu] This is quite a complex issue. We decided today on a list of government members who are to form the first group which will deal with the most urgent and vital issues, both with regard to the agreement, preparation for winter, and health protection issues. [end recording]

[Melkonyan] Meanwhile, humanitarian aid from the Evangelical Church was delivered yesterday to the population of Sukhumi—40 tons of foodstuffs.

Another Delay Reported

LD0709095593 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 7 Sep 93

[Text] In Sukhumi, at the headquarters of the Georgian troops stationed in Abkhazia, an official statement was released saying that the withdrawal of Georgian armored vehicles will be delayed due to the difficult political situation in western Georgia. The statement points out that Georgia has reached agreement with the Russian and Abkhazian sides on this matter.

At the same time, YEZHEDNEVNAYA GLASNOST reports that Abkhazia has accused Tbilisi of deliberately dragging out the withdrawal of troops.

Abkhaz Supreme Soviet Protests Delay

LD0709100893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0837 GMT 7 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Gondusov]

[Text] Moscow September 7 TASS—"By deliberately dragging out the withdrawal of troops and armaments from Abkhazian territory, the Georgian side is obstructing the resumption of the work of lawful government bodies and the restoration of peace in Abkhazia," says a statement released by the Abkhazian Supreme Soviet on Monday [6 September].

The document notes in particular that the Abkhazian side is scrupulously fulfilling all the provisions of the agreement on the ceasefire and the mechanism for supervising its fulfilment, signed on July 27. All the Abkhazian armed units, armour and artillery have been withdrawn to specially assigned places of deployment. All the optical sights, breechblocks and control panels have been removed from the Abkhazian artillery systems and armoured vehicles. They were sealed up and handed over to Russian Army representatives. "However," the statement says, "the Georgians are not withdrawing their armour and artillery from the conflict area. The breechblocks and sights have not been removed from them and can be used any time. Mainly damaged armour is being withdrawn from Abkhazian territory, while motor cars and auxiliary equipment is being loaded on vessels assigned to ship military hardware out of the republic. Georgian armed units have been left in several populated localities of Abkhazia disguised as policemen."

The Abkhazian Supreme Soviet accuses the Georgian side of breaching the ceasefire agreements and puts on it all the blame for possible consequences.

Pullout Threatened if POW's Not Freed

LD0309153893 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0800 GMT 3 Sep 93

[Excerpts] Here is information we have just received from the CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY. [passage omitted] The group registered that from 15 August till 2 September, 220 ethnic Georgians arrived in Adler from the conflict zone. They claimed that they had been evicted from their places of residence against their will. This information, together with appropriate letters and applications, was sent to a human rights group of the Joint Commission for further consideration. The mentioned information was prepared by the Georgian and Russian sides. The Abkhaz side has not assigned a group for joint study of the situation.

Avtandil Gegia, a member of the group, said that this did not mean an ethnic purge of Georgians on the territory of Abkhazia, but these were facts at hand.

Avtandil Gegia also noted that according to the agreement, the Gudauta side had to free Georgian POWs as soon as the withdrawal of the Georgian Armed Forces military equipment had begun from the conflict zone. Yesterday, a Russian amphibious landing ship carried the equipment to its destination, but the Abkhazian side has not freed the POWs. In this connection, the Georgian side has stated that it will stop the second stage of shipping military equipment in case the Gudauta side does not discharge its obligations.

Abkhaz Commission Says Georgia Stalling

LD0509170493 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1445 GMT 5 Sep 93

[By correspondent Ruslan Khashig; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The Georgian side has disrupted the schedule for the withdrawal of the Republic of Georgia's forces from the territory of Abkhazia for the seventh time since the Sochi agreement came into force. Making this observation, the joint commission set up to settle the armed conflict in Abkhazia was compelled at a routine meeting in Sukhumi yesterday to set a new deadline of 6 September for the completion of the withdrawal of the forces, after which a special tripartite group of combat engineers will begin inspecting the region on the Gumista front, and any equipment found will be destroyed.

Meanwhile, the Georgian forces command has not withdrawn a single armored vehicle from the eastern front.

The ineffective use made of the large amphibious warfare ship of the Russian Federation Navy was also emphasized at the commission's meeting. The ship has made just two runs from Sukhumi to Poti in six days, and fewer than 50 percent of armored vehicles have been withdrawn from the Gumista front.

The members of the joint commission met behind closed doors yesterday and today to discuss ways of implementing the eighth point of the agreement—the return of the legitimate authorities of the Republic of Abkhazia to Sukhumi and other occupied areas of Abkhazia. However, they have not yet managed to reach agreement. The talks are continuing.

Abkhazia Accuses Commission of Sabotaging Peace Accord

LD0509173693 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 5 Sep 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The tripartite commission held a meeting in Gudauta today. The commission was due to discuss nominations from the Abkhaz and Georgian sides for a conciliation commission, which can become a prototype authority in Sukhumi for the interim period. However, Abkhaz representatives claimed that the joint commission had failed to create conditions for a return of lawful authorities to Sukhumi. They are convinced that this is tantamount to sabotaging the agreement.

Joint Commission Fails To Agree on Cease-Fire Group

LD0609082093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0733 GMT 6 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Irina Shchogoleva]

[Text] Sochi September 6 TASS— As was reported earlier, the leaders of the trilateral Russian-Abkhazian-Georgian joint commission on the settlement in Abkhazia met in Gudauta to discuss the membership of the local government group, who were expected to begin the implementation of para 8 of the Sochi agreement on ceasefire in Abkhazia.

Under the agreement, the working governmental group was to create conditions for the resumption of activity of the legitimate bodies of power in Abkhazia.

Sources in the press centre of the Russian group in the trilateral commission told ITAR-TASS that the list of 19 people had not been approved by representatives of the two warring parties. Abkhaza objected against some nominees. Georgia said the new working group should not implement para 8 of the agreement but only handle functions of creating necessary conditions for the republic's normal life.

The press centre of the Georgian troops deployed in Abkhaza reported that Georgian parliament member Gia Baramidze expressed protest in Gudauta against the detention of a group of Georgian war prisoners by Abkhaza. He said he would remain in Gudauta until the prisoners were freed.

Russian Official in Abkhaz Commission Dismissed

LD0609154093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1502 GMT 6 Sep 93

[text] Moscow, 6 Sep (ITAR-TASS)—Given that the first stage of resolving the situation in Abkhazia—the separation of the armed formations of the Republic of Georgia and the Abkhaz side—has been completed, Sergey Shoygu, chairman of Russia's State Committee for Emergency Situations is relieved of his duties as leader of the Russian section of the joint commission for resolving the situation in Abkhazia. An instruction to this effect from the president of Russia was issued today.

At the same time the Council of Ministers-Government of the Russian Federation is instructed to appoint a leader of the Russian section of the joint commission for resolving the situation in Abkhazia.

Lithuania

Russian Forces Complete Withdrawal From Republic

Last Subunits Depart 31 Aug

PM0609130393 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 2 Sep 93 p 1

[Sergey Knyazkov report: "Remember Russian Soldiers Fondly"]

[Text] As is well known, following the 30 August telephone conversation between the Russian and Lithuanian presidents, agreement was reached on completing the Russian troop withdrawal from Lithuanian territory by the end of August.

The last Russian subunits left the republic's territory 31 August. Reporting this to the president, Minister of National Defense Audrius Butkevicius stressed that the sides had not signed an official act on the final completion of the Russian Army's withdrawal from Lithuania for purely technical reasons, since the text of the document had not yet been agreed. Speaking at the ceremony, the Lithuanian president expressed gratitude to the leadership of democratic Russia for showing understanding of the problems linked with the troop withdrawal.

Foreign Ministry Issues Statement

LD0309161993 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0600 GMT 3 Sep 93

[Text] On 31 August 1993, the Russian Federation, fulfilling its international obligations, withdrew its army from the territory of the Republic of Lithuania.

On this occasion, the Lithuanian Foreign Ministry states:

Lithuania and Russia are linked by history over many centuries. Mutually advantageous economic, cultural, and personal contacts have sometimes been darkened by serious political disagreements. At a basic turning point in the history of Lithuania and Russia, when Lithuania was entering for the second time on the path of independence and the Russian people were choosing a democratically oriented leadership, the relations between the two countries were marked by the 29 July 1991 agreement on the principles of interstate relations, which consolidated the basic principles of cooperation between the two states, based on universally acknowledged norms of international law.

In that treaty, Russia recognized the independent Lithuanian state, and affirmed that additional conditions for mutual trust between Lithuania and Russia and among their peoples were created with the elimination of the consequences of the annexation, which harmed [Lithuania's] sovereignty.

This has enabled the two sides to conclude the agreement of 8 September 1992 on the withdrawal of the Russian Army from the territory of Lithuania, which was fulfilled on 31 August of this year.

This cooperation between Lithuania and Russia corresponds with the traditions of the development of a democratic society, and creates good conditions for the implementation of radical economic reforms. Lithuanian-Russian negotiations on solving important and urgent problems, linked with compensation for damages to Lithuania and its people, the social welfare of pensioned Russian servicemen, and the safeguarding of the economic functioning of Kaliningrad Oblast, should become a continuation of political dialogue.

Lithuania will welcome a successful conclusion of the negotiations between the Russian Federation and Latvia and Estonia on a swift, orderly, and complete withdrawal of the Russian Army. This would strengthen security in the Baltics and stability all over Europe.

A new page in Lithuanian-Russian relations requires the development of mutually advantageous cooperation, a striving for practical solutions of problems on the basis of equal partnership in the process of negotiations, respecting the principles of democracy and law, human rights, and freedoms. The dialogue that has thus far taken place has demonstrated that interstate relations have only one civilized form of solution—political negotiations at all levels without using pressure or coercion, the Lithuanian Foreign Ministry statement says.

'Unofficial' Version of Statement

WS0309133493 Tallinn BNS in English 1241 GMT 3 Sep 93

[Text] Vilnius, Sept 03, BNS—The following is an unofficial translation of a statement by the Lithuanian Foreign Ministry following the end of Russia's troop withdrawal.

"A long history binds Lithuania and Russia through economic, cultural and human ties. Regretfully, these ties are sometimes darkened by serious political disagreements. During the essential crucial turn of this history, Lithuania gained its independence for the second time, and the Russian nation chose a leadership of democratic orientation.

"Their relations were marked by the July 29, 1991, treaty on interstate relations, which consolidated the main principle of the countries' cooperation under universally accepted norms of international law.

"By this treaty, Russia recognized Lithuania as an independent state and confirmed that, after eliminating the traces of its occupation and its infringements on Lithuanian sovereignty, it would create additional conditions for bilateral trust with Lithuania. The treaty enabled the countries to reach an agreement Sept. 8, 1992, on the

withdrawal of the Russian Army from Lithuania. That agreement was fulfilled Aug. 31.

"The flow of Lithuanian-Russian cooperation corresponds to democratic traditions and the development of their societies. It creates good conditions to carry out radical economic reforms. Lithuanian-Russian talks should become a continuation of the political dialogue to solve sore and urgent questions connected with the compensation of damage to Lithuania and its people, the social protection of the Russian military pensioners and the protection of the economic structure in the Kaliningrad region.

"Lithuania would congratulate the fruitful end of the talks between the Russian Federation and Latvia and Estonia on the speedy, orderly and complete withdrawal of the Russian Army. It would strengthen the security of the Baltic region and the stability in the whole region.

"A new page of Lithuanian-Russian relations obliges the countries to broaden cooperation and to seek practical solutions to their problems on the basis of equal partnership. The dialogue until now has shown that interstate relations have only one civilized form of solutions—political negotiations at all levels without employing pressure or constraint."

Pope John Paul II Begins Visit in Vilnius

Polish Involvement in Trip Cited

LD0409142093 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 1200 GMT 4 Sep 93

[Text] [Announcer] Pope John Paul II is starting his visit to Lithuania. Ernest Zozun is in Vilnius.

[Zozun] The visit by John Paul II, who has just landed in a papal plane in the Lithuanian capital, is just starting in Vilnius now. In a moment, the pope will be greeted on the steps of the plane by representatives of the Lithuanian clergy, authorities, and diplomatic corps working in Vilnius.

Polish authorities are largely involved in John Paul's visit. The Polish Foreign Affairs Ministry has supplied helicopters which will transport the pope. We have also learned from well-informed sources that Polish arms are protecting the visit. These are technical details.

Officially the Polish Episcopate will be represented by Primate of Poland Jozef Glemp and Bishop Tadeusz Pieronek. Also, Deputy Prime Minister Henryk Goryszewski will fly over for a private visit but, as we have said earlier, in a government plane.

In Vilnius itself, we Poles have only now started to feel that the pope is coming here, because I saw on my way through the city, that people are gathering in places which the pope will visit. Until now, there have been only occasional signs of this visit around the city.

After the welcoming ceremony at the airport, the pope will go to Vilnius Cathedral, where he will meet with Lithuanian clergy. Later, he will meet with the Lithuanian president in the Seimas.

The Polish ambassador to Lithuania said the visit is obviously of a religious nature, but one may not exclude its influence on Polish-Lithuanian relations.

[Announcer] We were told at the Government Press Office that Deputy Prime Minister Henryk Goryszewski is going to Vilnius on an unofficial working visit at the Lithuanian Government's invitation. He will meet there with Prime Minister Adolfas Slezevicius and economic and transport ministers. He will also take part in religious celebrations connected with the pope's visit.

Tells Clergy To Avoid Politics

LD0409210093 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1900 GMT 4 Sep 93

[By correspondent Malgorzata Zietkiewicz from Vilnius; relayed by TV Polonia Network]

[Excerpt] Pope John Paul II was the first of the 264 popes to kiss Lithuanian soil. I know well, the pope said, that I am visiting you at a difficult time. When I was summoned to St. Peter's See 15 years ago, I prayed for Lithuania at Holy Mary's feet in the catacombs of the Vatican basilica.

John Paul II was greeted by crowds of pilgrims. Polish flags were waved. Outside the cathedral, where the pope met with the Lithuanian clergy, there were 15,000 believers, twice as many as the organizers had envisaged.

President Brazauskas assured the pope while still at the airport that Lithuania was a Catholic state, while several days ago he admitted—and this caused quite a stir here—that as the first secretary of the Lithuanian [Communist Party] Central Committee, he had secretly baptized his children.

At the cathedral, which only two years ago housed an art gallery, Archbishop of Lithuania Audrys Backis asked the pope to help the Lithuanian people persevere after their hard experiences, which he compared to the way of the cross.

The holy father delivered a homily in Lithuanian for 3,000 priests, monks, and nuns. He read it in turns with Archbishop Backis. The pope emphasized that there must be no misunderstandings between the Church and the authorities. Priests must not interfere in politics. These words sounded especially strong here, since priests' political involvement is very visible in Lithuania. A priest served as a deputy in the previous parliament. Priests get involved in ethnic conflicts. Cardinal Sladkevicius does not want to agree to a mass in Polish at the Vilnius cathedral. As if aware of these problems, the pope said that hearts of two peoples were beating inside this temple. [passage omitted]

Further on Visit

LD0509202993 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 1900 GMT 5 Sep 93

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas did not take part in the mass celebrated by Pope John Paul II in Vingis Park because in the morning he felt ill. The presidential secretary informed that an attack of the biliar stone disease [as heard] had occurred to Mr. Brazauskas. Doctors of the (Antaganas) University Hospital confirmed that the president was rendered medical aid and went home.

After the mass, his holiness met in the nunciature foreign diplomats accredited to Lithuania. In a speech devoted to the world's current political realities, John Paul II noted that Europe was [words indistinct] by antagonistic ideologies but was moving toward international cooperation. However, according to the Holy Father, this is a long and patience-demanding work.

John Paul II paid much attention to the role of diplomats and diplomacy in general in the contemporary world. He said, among other things, that today diplomacy is called to implement new forms and is aiming at new goals of which much is [word indistinct] by nations who have regained their freedom.

In the evening at (St. Jonas) Cathedral in Vilnius University, Pope John Paul II had a meeting with the academic and cultural world. [passage omitted]

From Vilnius University the pope went to the Vilnius Church of the Holy Spirit, where he met representatives of the Polish community in Lithuania. In his address the Holy Father stressed that—quote—observing developments in the whole of Europe, we cannot leave unnoticed that big demand that all the peoples should reject the impeding danger of nationalism and should unite feeling responsibility, irrespective of the way they have chosen to implement their integration process [sentence as heard].

Speaking to the Poles, John Paul II said—quote—my dears, Europe is waiting for you to take an active part in the developments of this continent, the continent undergoing essential changes, unquote. The pope stressed the necessity to foster good relations between Lithuanians and Poles in this country saying that—quote—your city is granted a calling for dialogue and brotherly concorde of the Christians who pray in a variety of languages and are aware of being the inheritants of different and at the same time partially common historic traditions, unquote.

The pope ended his second day in Lithuania at the Vilnius Bishopric where he met cardinals and bishops.

Urges Rejection of Nationalism

WS0709112993 Tallinn BNS in English 1335 GMT 6 Sep 93

[Excerpt] Vilnius, Sept 06, BNS—Pope John Paul II called on the European people to reject what he called "the dangerous seduction of nationalism" and join the process of the new integration of the continent.

The head of the Roman Catholic Church met during his visit to Lithuania with representatives of the Polish community in Vilnius' Saint Spirit Church.

"The church is aware of its mission at this historic time and does its best to make this process easier," he said.

The residents of Lithuania have "an active and creative" role to play in this process, he said.

"The European church hopes that in the near future it will be able to breathe normally with its two lungs, the West and the East, which history has created over two millennia." [passage omitted]

Ministers Discuss Economic Issues With Polish Official

LD0609170793 Warsaw PAP in English 1654 GMT 6 Sep 93

[Text] Vilnius, Sept. 6—Deputy Prime Minister for Economic Affairs Henryk Goryszewski has paid an unofficial visit to Lithuania where on Sunday [5 September] he attended a mass said by Pope John Paul II and participated in the pontiff's meeting with the Polish community in Lithuania.

On Monday he met with Lithuanian Prime Minister Adolfas Slezevicius, Minister of Economics Julius Veselka and Minister of Communications and Information Jonas Birziskis.

When asked what was the aim and reason of his visit to Vilnius, Goryszewski said that he has already met with almost all politicians responsible for economic matters of the neighbouring countries except for the Czech deputy premier and Lithuanian leaders in charge of economy.

Goryszewski disclosed that during the meeting with the Lithuanian prime minister he discussed economic matters, including a Lithuanian concept of creating a free trade zone by Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia and an idea to create a similar free zone with Poland. He also said that the two sides touched upon the question of the Polish-Lithuanian treaty.

The need to develop direct contacts between entrepreneurs interested in cooperation with Lithuania and intensificatiion of trans-border cooperation were subjects of the meeting between Goryszewski and the Lithuanian minister of economics.

With minister of communications and information we discussed the concept of creating the Via Baltica route and cooperation within the Warsaw railway network linking the railway systems of central and eastern Europe with the railways of Asia, said the Polish deputy premier.

On return from Lithuania, Goryszewski described his visit as "quite successful." He added that the Polish and Lithuanian side decided to organize a meeting of Polish and Lithuanian entrepreneurs and businessmen to find ways of intensification of bilateral economic and commercial exchange.

Brazauskas Hospitalized by Gallstone Attack

LD0709092093 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 2300 GMT 6 Sep 93

[Text] President Algirdas Brazauskas is in hospital after he underwent a bilestone [as heard] attack yesterday. Doctors expect him to recover in three or four days.

Brazauskas Prefers 'Results to Political Manuevers'

WS0609144793 Vilnius ELTA NEWS BULLETIN in English 1153 GMT 6 Sep 93

[From ELTA "NEWS BULLETIN" No. 325]

[Text] Vilnius, Sep 5, ELTA—LIETUVOS RYTAS published an account of President Brazauskas' meeting with radio and newspaper correspondents, during which the President had expressed his views on foreign policy issues. All foreign diplomats who had visited Lithuania to investigate into the Russian army pullout spoke of necessity to maintain good relations between Lithuania and Russia, while the Lithuanian press is rife with controversial interpretation of this issue, according to the president. Mr Brazauskas seemed to be pressing the point that Lithuania must not limit itself to its internal problems. "We should not demonstrate to the world that we are a state and nation bearing an exceptional mark", the president said. Commenting on a US $146 billion worth compensation ostensibly demanded by Lithuania from Russia for damages inflicted during the Soviet era, the president said this sum had not been calculated by his administration. According to Brazauskas, estimation of compensation had not been given considerations so far, and only the negotiation procedures were at the centre of discussions. Brazauskas said the compensation issue is dependent on referendum. When asked whether another compensation sum had already been calculated and whether Russia should in his opinion pay to Lithuania for the damages, Mr Brazauskas said no calculations had been made as yet. While asked to comment on Lithuanian politicians' inclination to pay exceptional attention to advice given by the West on relations with Russia and a tendency to forget that not long ago the West had been urging Lithuania not to intervene into Gorbachev's policy, the president described such interpretation of the issue as extreme. According to the president, during the years of Landsbergis' ruling, no one in Lithuania was making attempts to harm Gorbachev. Mr Brazauskas added he preferred concrete results to political maneuvers. According to Mr Brazauskas, he has experienced himself that foreign policy has more intricacies than internal and economic problems. While asked to comment on the conformity of Lithuania's foreign policy, the president said it had been closely observed and that none of the agreements reached by Landsbergis administration had been denounced.

Government Imposes UN Sanctions on Serbia, Montenegro

WS0709111793 Tallinn BNS in English 1908 GMT 6 Sep 93

[Text] Vilnius, Sept 06, BNS—The Lithuanian government decided to impose sanctions on Serbia and Montenegro Sept 2., in accordance with resolutions of the UN Security Council.

Lithuania decided to ban bank operations on commercial bank accounts that belong to companies and individuals of the Yugoslav Federal Republic (Serbia and Montenegro), and that are directly or indirectly controlled by them.

The government also prohibited Lithuanian companies and individuals from providing any services to companies and individuals involved in production or commercial activities in Serbia and Montenegro.

Exceptions to these sanctions are regulated by resolutions of the UN Security Council and its special committee.

The Lithuanian government banned cargo transportation by ships registered in Lithuania, if they enter the territorial waters of Serbia and Montenegro. Lithuania will also detain any kind of transport that violates the U.N. resolutions.

Foreign Ministry Confirms U.S. Agreement to New Envoy

WS0309141493 Vilnius ELTA in Lithuanian 1228 GMT 3 Sep 93

[Text] Lithuanian Foreign Ministry officials confirmed the news that an agreement to appoint Alfonsas Eidintas, a specialist in Lithuanian history, was received from the United States.

The removal of the former Ambassador Stasys Lozoraitis caused a heated debate both in Lithuania and among Lithuanian emigres. Stasys Lozoraitis, a Lithuanian emigre and son of a pre-war diplomat, represented independent Lithuania in various diplomatic services during the long years of the Soviet occupation. He ran for the presidential elections that were won by Algirdas Brazauskas. The post of the Lithuanian ambassador to Italy has been proposed to Stasys Lozoraitis. However, he has not yet given his final agreement.